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Preserving Urban Landscapes as Public History --- A Qualitative Study of Kensington Market, Toronto

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PRESERVING URBAN LANDSCAPES AS PUBLIC HISTORY

--- A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF KENSINGTON MARKET, TORONTO

A Dissertation Presented

By

NA LI

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In August 2006, when my plane left for Massachusetts, the United States, I anticipated this would be a long trip with hopes, toils, joys, and uncertainty. “To snatch in a moment of courage, from the remorseless rush of time, a passing phase of life, is only the beginning of the task.” This task, in the subsequent four years, is pursued with single-mindedness, with faith and sincerity, with stress and passion chewed within the core of each convincing moment. My old conviction in urban preservation becomes permanent. This dissertation marks the end of that task.

To accomplish this work, I have incurred debts on at least three continents.

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An intellectual odyssey in North America has never been a solitary journey. My travel has taught me a great truth that, if I can open my eyes and heart, every place offers beauty and humanity. Anthony Tung, whose book, *Preserving the World's Great Cities: The Destruction and Renewal of the Historic Metropolis*, started me travelling to Italy in 2002, and continued to accompany me to many historic cities Asia. Six years later in Tulsa, Oklahoma, we met at the National Trust for Historic Preservation annual conference. In my subsequent sojourns in New York City, Tony kept challenging my

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Last, a life-long passion for learning was obligatory prior to all. My parents gave me a heart to dream, diligence to learn, and perseverance to accomplish. They provided

me the best they had to transform my dream into a reality. For their unfailing love and support, I am deeply grateful. Liang Wang, my love, who always sees the best in me, accompanied me in many a research trips in China, Canada, and the United States, and he made all this worthwhile.

To all of those people go my thanks. Errors and omissions remain my own.

ABSTRACT

PRESERVING URBAN LANDSCAPES AS PUBLIC HISTORY

--- A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF KENSINGTON MARKET, TORONTO

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Situated within the interpretive and critical traditions, this study aims to contribute to one of the continuing primary themes in urban preservation: how to interpret and preserve the intangible values of built environments.

A comprehensive analysis of dominant theories of urban preservation forms the conceptual framework within which this dissertation takes place. It starts by locating the intellectual context of preservation in North America, and examines its basic premises and core issues. It identifies three limits to the traditional approach to preservation planning. The complexity and fragility of history, its narrative quality and its particularities, its emotional content and economic values, all connect urban preservation with public history. Therefore, in the spirit of communicative democracy and "a shared authority", the study incorporates collective memory as an essential *construct* in urban landscapes, and suggests a culturally sensitive narrative approach (CSNA).

The study employs an in-depth case study. The setting is Kensington Market in Toronto, Canada. It examines retrospectively the urban renewal planning of Kensington Market in the 1960s, identifies the pivotal events that prompted the change of urban renewal policies, and demonstrates, through the interpretive policy analysis, that sometimes urban renewal plans that fail to be implemented can become success stories in how to preserve urban neighborhoods as a kind of public history.

To probe deeper into the sources of conflict between the professionals and the public, the study further explores the mutual relationship between collective memory and urban landscapes. It takes a selective look at some significant sites of memory, and connects them into a narrative path. Through oral history interviewing, field observation, and material cultural analysis, this part of the analysis constitutes an empirical study of CSNA. A *proposition* is derived from this critical case study. The study concludes with seven steps of CSNA, a guide for urban landscape preservation and planning.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Posterity is indebted to these people and others like them who, at critical historic junctures, recorded for following generations that there were options to the common wisdom of the time: that alternatives to self-inflicted destruction were available, explicated, but not embraced. It is through such dissent that we can trace the evolution of an ethic of urban architectural conservation.

--- ANTHONY M. TUNG, *Preserving the World's Great Cities: The Destruction and Renewal of the Historic Metropolis*

This study is about preserving urban landscapes. In 2002, I started the journey of searching for surviving cultural landscapes in the major historical metropolises across the world. I wondered if, through cross-comparing preservation practices in different places, logics and patterns would emerge for better alternatives to urban destruction under the pretext of modernity.

The journey started from Rome, Italy, where historic preservation first became part of urban planning because Rome's architectural values grew in tandem with powerful civilizations, to Paris, France, where prominent vistas and landmark buildings collided with *paysages des memorie*, then to Amsterdam, the Netherlands, where the affordable housing set an example of integrating urban preservation with social reform and public health. I continued along historic highway 66, or commonly known as Route 66, in the

United States, connecting Chicago, the heart of the industrial Midwest, to Los Angeles in California, “the land of milk and honey”. The past became palpable in historic sites, monuments, designated routes, and landmarked architecture through popular culture and the arts; the past, in this way, was brought back in all its richness. From 2006 on, I have spent a lot of time in Toronto, a city claimed to be “New York run by the Swiss.”[1] I have lived there since July 2008, and have enjoyed being an outsider and an insider. At the age of 176, the city has accumulated a patina of time in the midst of the pastel shades where modernity and history harmoniously converge. Here my search for the historic clues acquired a firm vernacular bent: I became fascinated with ordinary people’s memories, stories, and aspirations embedded in the insignificant buildings in a cosmopolite, where “half of the world” has settled by choice or by circumstance. [2] They seemed like illuminations in the old manuscripts, glowing with authentic colors.

During those years, a travelling mind-set, strangely self-emptying of judgment, forced me to step beyond the superficial geographic logic, to experience each place as if it were my first and last encounter, and to judge what I see with my own eyes. My own idea of what is historic and what is significant loosened up, and I became increasingly open to chance encounters brimming with a real and personal pleasure to witness many signs of native continuity and growth. My settled expectation bended and I have learned to approach each place with true curiosity and humility, seeking its vernacular expressions of architectural and cultural values. Eventually, I ended up this journey in one of the oldest urban neighborhoods in one of the first cities in the world to celebrate and sustain ethnic diversity, Kensington Market in the city of Toronto.

Objective of the Study

This in-depth analysis of a culturally diverse setting aims to contribute to one of the continuing primary themes in urban preservation: how to interpret and preserve the intangible values of built environments. This broad objective breaks into three specific goals:

1. To interpret the interaction of the social and spatial logic threading the urban landscape
2. To suggest a culturally sensitive narrative approach, which integrates a public history narrative with communicative planning
3. To demonstrate how preservation planners could preserve and plan *with* public memories

Conceptual Framework: A Shared Authority in Preservation Planning

A review of the major literature in urban preservation provides the foundation for this study. The "synoptic and cross-disciplinary" (Fitch, 1982: xii) nature of historic preservation may explain the dearth of literature in preservation *per se*. Yet during the 20th century, historic preservation has expanded from a handful of scattered efforts to salvage elite houses to an organized social movement.[3] It has achieved admirable progress as arguably one of "the broadest and longest-lasting land-use reform efforts" (Page and Mason, 2004: 3), and has become part of a larger urban planning practice. As a social movement in both Western Europe and North America, historic preservation is pursued in concert with urban development (Page and Mason, 2004: 10), and especially in the United States from the 1920s to 1950s, significantly overlapped with the planning movement. The term *urban preservation* reflects this mutually evolving, and sometimes

intricate relationship. In this review, I have divided the literature germane to urban preservation into three sections: historic perspectives on historic preservation, its relationship with urban planning in particular; analyses of the expanded domain of urban preservation; and studies of collective memory in urban settings.

As a social movement organized through an interlocking constituency with shared commitments at local, state, national and international levels in both Western Europe and North America, historic preservation is pursued in concert with urban development (Page and Mason, 2004: 10). Especially in the United States from the 1920s to 1950s, it significantly overlapped with the planning movement. Michael Holleran and Randall Mason both argue that "urban planner and even real estate developer were just other names for preservationists, especially in the early twentieth century" (Page and Mason, 2004: 11).[4] Yet from the heroic effort of Ann Pamela Cunningham to save Mount Vernon in 1853, to the first zoning ordinance to encourage preservation in Charleston in 1931, and to the failed attempt in 1963 to save Penn Station in New York, traditional preservation planning was stimulated by imminent demolitions. Moreover, it emphasized the end results -- the preserved buildings and sites, with little thought to the quality of the process. Indeed, the process was largely expert driven and centered around structures of the rich and powerful, leading to a conservative image of preservation being embedded in the status quo and adverse to change. Kevin Lynch, for instance, points out that "preservation has been the work of established middle- and upper-class citizens. The history enshrined in museums is chosen and interpreted by those who give the dollars" (Lynch, 1972: 29). Preservationists thus become the "keepers of the moribund, if not

downright dead" (Bookspan, 2001: 8): all stand opposite to planning, which is associated with change and forward-looking transformation.

The historic survey of the field reveals three areas that receive inadequate attention. First, most studies utilize an expert perspective to determine what *should* be preserved, developed, or demolished. Few question the assumption on which those judgments are based: What is missing from the preserved urban landscapes? Many urban neighborhoods started and evolved unselfconsciously without design or planning procedures. Thus, an authentic attitude to place is understood to be a direct and genuine experience of the entire complex of the identity of places – not mediated and distorted through a series of arbitrary social and intellectual fashions about how that experience should be, nor following stereotyped conventions (Relph, 1976: 64). What government officials and planners deem historic may not always be what the public cares about.

Second, despite the increasing awareness of the social and cultural dimension of built environments, there still has been fairly limited scholarly attention to and in-depth analysis of what *exactly* makes landscapes political, emotional, and complex. When a certain version of history becomes the accepted narrative and eventually the criteria of a successful preservation initiative, the simplified historic narrative excludes other interpretations. "Historic narratives are by nature selective… Understanding what and why we choose to forget is as revealing as what we choose to remember." (Taupier, 2009: 2)

Third, this study shares with Randall Mason that "the preservation field is seen as having great responsibilities for managing the built environment and social memory" (Mason 2006: 21). However, understanding the role of social or collective memory, an

essential element constituting the intangible value in built environment, remains conceptual. Few in-depth case studies exist of the reciprocal relationship between the above value and urban landscapes; much less attention is given to connecting those sites of memory to tell a community story.

Chapter 2 analyzes the relevant literature in a critical way, and constitutes the conceptual framework within which the dissertation takes place. Based on the in-depth analysis of dominant theories of historic preservation, the study will incorporate collective memory, which is psychological by nature yet deeply cultural, as an essential *construct* in understanding and preserving the urban landscapes.[5] It starts by locating the intellectual context of preservation in North America, and examines its basic premises and core issues. It identifies three limits to the traditional approach to preservation planning: first, the pursuit of historic authenticity; second, the emphasis on saving a fixed single version of historic narratives; third, the lack of adequate attention to the intangible aspects, particularly culture and memory. The complexity and fragility of history, its narrative quality and its particularities, its emotional content and economic values, all connect urban preservation with public history. Therefore, built on the basic philosophy of communicative democracy and the spirit of "a shared authority", I suggest a culturally sensitive narrative approach (CSNA).

Research Design: A Qualitative Research Methodology

This study, situated within the interpretive and critical traditions, adopts the *qualitative* research methodology, with *case study* as the overall research strategy. Through getting a sense of one particular case study, from which anticipations for that particular and other similar situations can be created, it expects to enrich human discourse,

and to "something more emergent and less certain – we can call this anticipation." (Noblit and Hare, 1988)

Case Study

The case study, defined by Robert Yin, is "an empirical inquiry that ***a.*** investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when ***b.*** the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." (Yin, 2003: 12) According to Yin, the case study inquiry, ***a.*** copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result; ***b.*** relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result, ***c.*** benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis (p. 12-3).

Therefore, the strength of case study lies in its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence – documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations – beyond what might be available in the conventional historical study. Bent Flyvbjerg examines common misunderstandings about case study research, and he reformulates them as following: ***a.*** Concrete, context-dependent knowledge is more valuable than searching for predictive theories and universals; ***b.*** the fieldwork involved in most in-depth case studies is valuable, because "the field" is a "powerful disciplinary force: assertive, demanding, even coercive." (Geertz, 1973: 119) ***c.*** Summarizing case studies is often difficult, especially as concerns case process, so often it is not desirable to summarize and generalize case studies. Good studies should be read as narratives in their entirety. (Flyvbjerg, 2006).[6]

Flyvbjerg's reformulations bear critical relevance to this study for the following three reasons.[7] First, the theory of collective memory and urban space is essentially contextually and culturally dependent. The goal of this study is to suggest and apply a narrative approach in a culturally diverse setting. It will thus need to assemble the greatest possible amount of information on a given problem or phenomenon, so a representative case or a random sample would not be the most appropriate strategy.[8]

Second, from both an understanding-oriented and an action-oriented perspective, it is often more important to clarify the deeper causes behind a given problem and its consequences than to describe the symptoms of the problem and how frequently they occur. Michael Barzelay specifically argues that "a single case can yield several kinds of results, each of which should be valued by anyone who seeks to improve collective problem solving" (Barzelay, 1993). This "collective problem solving" objective in this study is how to work with local communities to better preserve their neighborhood. Rather than factual finding or the high-level generalizations of theory, the value of an in-depth case study lies precisely in "the contextual and interpenetrating nature of forces" (Peattie 2001: 260). Therefore, this study aims to build a "critical case" in the study of collective memory and urban space.[9] To build a "critical case" is to achieve information that permits logical deductions of the type, i.e. "if this is (not) valid for this case, then it applies to all (no) cases" (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 230). The study area should contain some of the most stable sites of memories, i.e. sites that exist the longest, and underlying those memories are a set of cultural assumptions that need to be critically reexamined.

Third, an in-depth analysis often involves narratives that typically approach the complexities and contradictions of real life. Accordingly, such narratives from the

fieldwork may be difficult or impossible to summarize into neat scientific formulae, general propositions, and theories (Benhabib, 1990; Mitchell & Charmaz, 1996; Roth, 1989; Rouse, 1990; White, 1990). The study also orients towards cultural understanding of the "insiders" – their perspectives, emotions, memories, and senses of place. Following Clifford Geertz, the case study involves *thick description* with multiple and contradictory levels of local meanings from the field (Geertz, 1973). Detailed observation of action alone may not always yield a meaningful understanding of a situation. It is only by wading through multiple complex layers of local interpretations and sorting out what Geertz calls the "structure of signification" or "web of significance" that one can arrive at a more comprehensive and insightful cultural portrait.[10]

The Setting: Kensington Market, Toronto [11]

Kensington Market, bounded by Spadina Avenue, Bellevue Avenue, College Street, and Doundas Street West (Figure 1), has always been a dynamic reception area for immigrants arriving in the city of Toronto. Figure 2 shows Kensington Market in the regional context. In a letter to Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC)[12] in 2003, Carlos Teixeria, an urban geographer, proposed Kensington Market to be nominated as a "National Historical Site". Based on his extensive research on community and neighborhood change, ethnic entrepreneurship, and the social structure of Canadian cities, as well as two-decade field experience with different ethnic neighborhoods in the city of Toronto, Dr. Teixeria convincingly demonstrated how Kensington Market, one of the most important reception area, remained remarkable: "the coming and going of its people – immigrants from all over the world – who have each contributed to the neighborhood and left culturally distinctive traces on its urban

landscape. This area has played an integral role in the history of immigrant settlement in Toronto, and in Canada as a whole."[13] More important, cultural tolerance and diversity continue to play out today. With this initiative, Kensington Market was designated as National Historic Site of Canada in 2005. It followed in 2008 that HSMBC presented a plaque commemorating its historic significance, a definite official recognition. However, for a place that evolved organically and where businesses have thrived on informal personal connection and support, "official" seems a little mind-boggling: what kind of history do we want to impart to our posterity through Kensington Market? Kensington Market is, I believe, a prototypical case, that embodies many critical issues in urban preservation. The official and grass-roots efforts to its interpretation and preservation constitute an effective response.

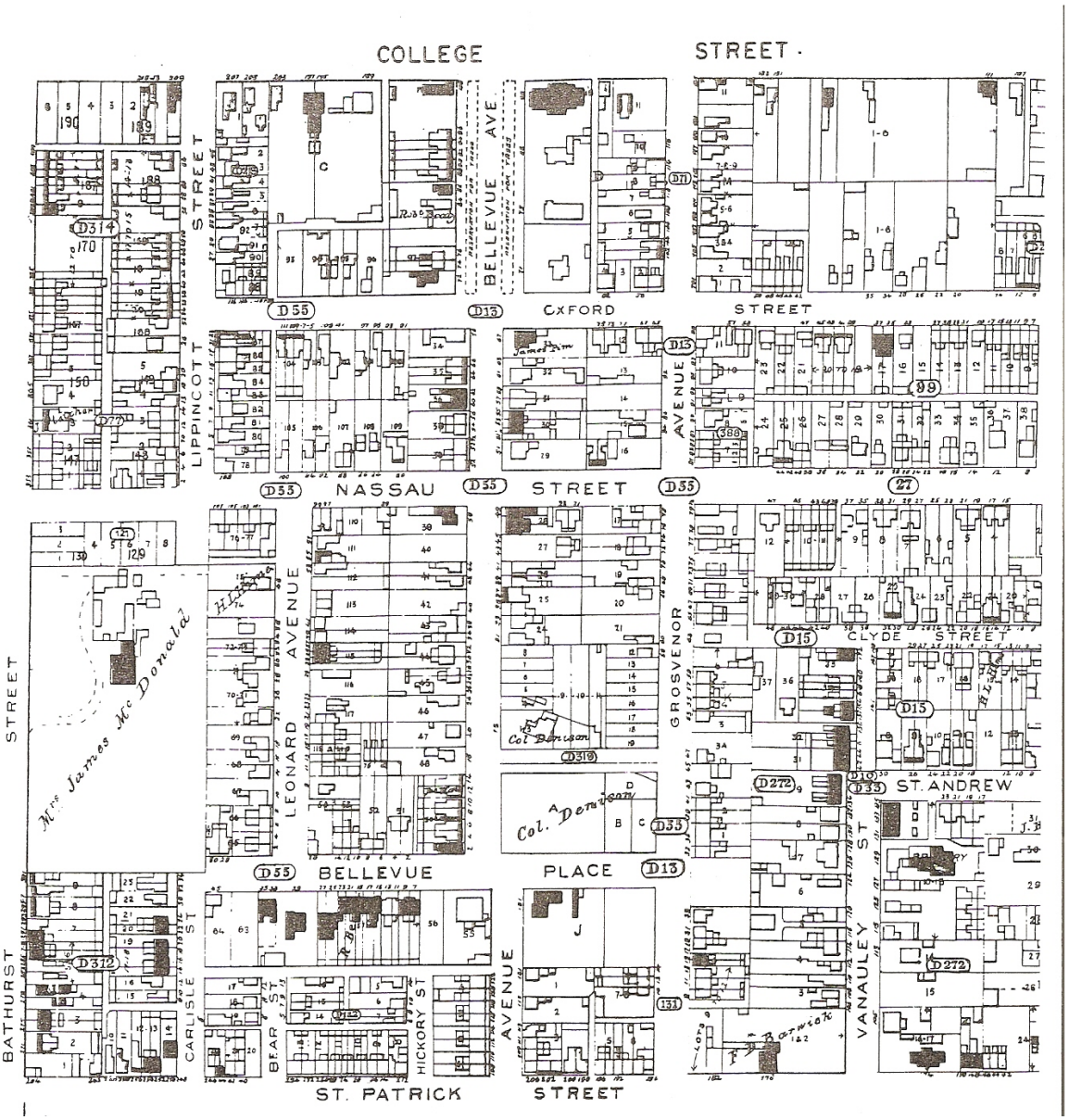


Figure 1 Historic Map of Kensington Market 1884

Kensington Avenue, originally Vanauley Street, Augusta Ave. originally Grosvenor Ave., Baldwin Street, originally Clyde Street. Source: *Goads Atlas – 1884.*

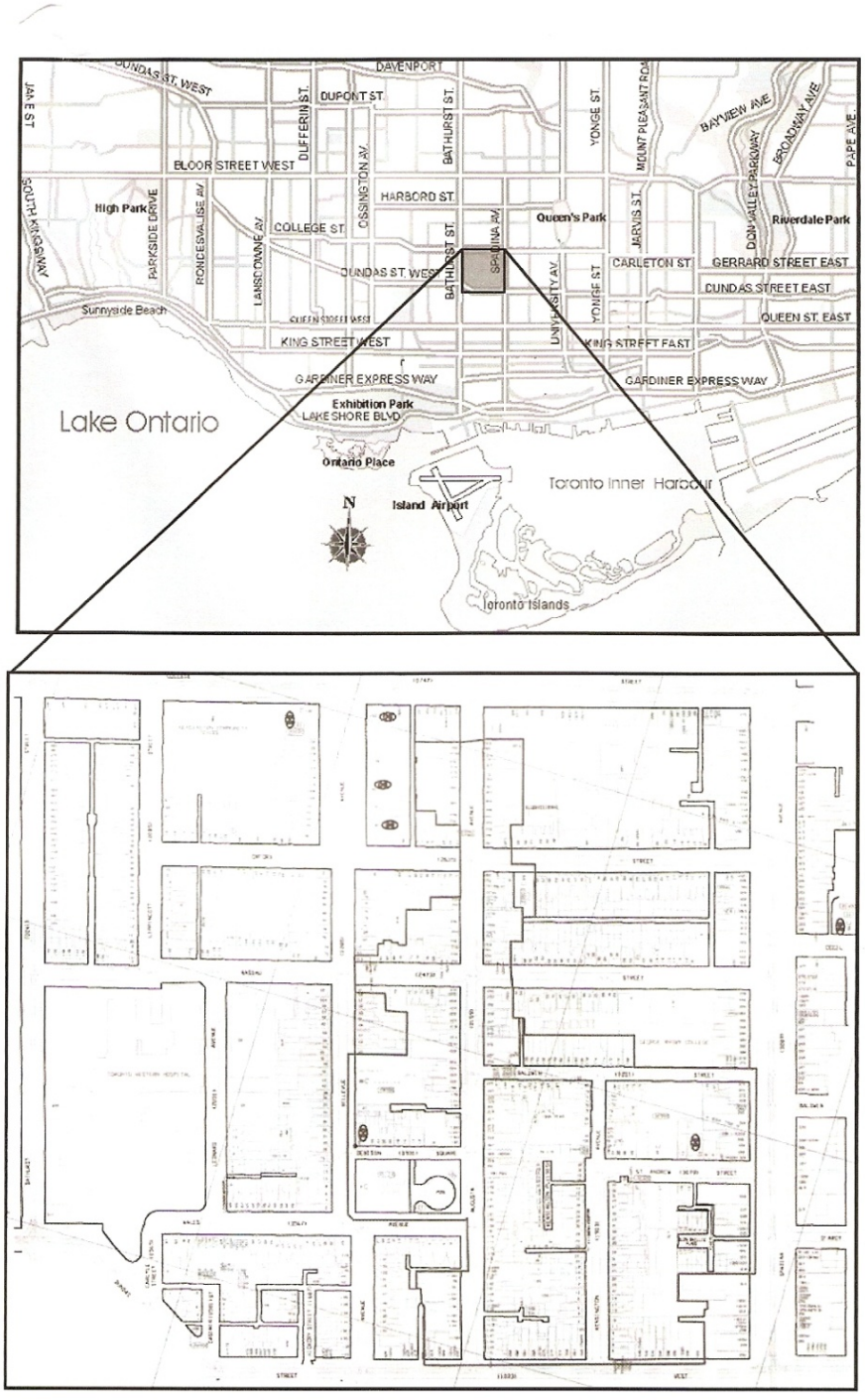


Figure 2 Kensington Market in the Regional Context

Source: *HSMBC Report: 2005-30* by Andrew M. Waldron, Historic Services Branch, Parks Canada

Most existing studies about Kensington Market focus either on the immigrant settlement and cultural diversity, or on architectural description, inventory, and documentation.[14] Few are dedicated to both fronts. A second issue concerns the whole *frame* of reference: insiders' sense of place cannot be fully understood through an outsider's eye. This bears critical significance in connecting ethnic memories and their space in the city to built landscapes that have been transformed by ethnic and cultural minorities. Robert Harney argues that, "ethnic neighborhoods can be studied as concentrated universes in two quite two different ways. One is accessible to plotting by analyzing factual sources, especially written by city records, and by forms of social scientific measurement. Another is more notional. It is about the mentalities of immigrants and about the psychic worlds they inhabit." (Harney and Multicultural History Society of Ontario., 1985: 11) Such studies of "the psychic worlds" remain unfortunately rare. Harney elaborates that, by excluding immigrants from the record because they did not have the leisure or language skills to memorialize themselves, we have condoned the practice of seeing the new comer through the assimilators, controllers, and exploiters, and of regarding the immigrants himself as a dangerous and unreliable mute.(Harney, Unidentified) A few oral history interviews were done around 1980s. They had poorly documented summaries, and rarely dealt with memories about living in Kensington Market.

Interpretive Policy Analysis

Chapter 4 examines retrospectively the urban renewal planning of Kensington Market in the 1960s, when urban redevelopment in the city of Toronto encountered the general failure of modernist planning. It will identify the pivotal events that prompted the

change of urban renewal policies, and demonstrate, through interpretive policy analysis that, this failed urban renewal planning is in fact a success story of how to preserve an urban neighborhood as a kind of public history.

Rationale

The interpretive policy analysis presupposes that we live in a social world characterized by the possibility of multiple interpretations. It assumes that knowledge is acquired through interpretation, which necessarily is subjective, so the interpretive approach is less an argument contesting the nature of reality than one about the human possibility of knowing the world around us and the character of that knowledge (Yanow, 2000: 5-7) Situated within the interpretive tradition (Prasad, 2005, Lejano, 2006), this approach emphasizes the social dimensions of reality construction (Prasad, 2005), and brings *process*, i.e. sequences of evolving action and interaction, changes in which can be traced to changes in structural conditions, as an essential part of theory building (Strauss and Corbin, 1991:163). It focuses on the meanings of policies, on the values, feelings, or beliefs they express, and on the process by which those meanings are communicated to and read by various audiences.

This humanistic philosophy coincides with a communicative turn in urban planning (Healey, 1992, Fischer and Forester, 1993, Innes, 1995, Forester, 1999). [15] Judith Innes argues for the paradigm status of communicative planning (Innes, 1995), stating that planning is more than anything an interactive, communicative activity. Systematic analysis and logical argumentation are just a tiny part of what planners do. John Forester accepts that the structure of the planning process reflects a systematic

patterning of communication, and applies Habermas' critical communications theory to planning practice, to clarify how planning practice works as attention-shaping *communicative action*, and how planning action and broader political-economic forces may work to thwart or foster a democratic planning process (Forester, 1980) Planners, in many contests where knowledge and values are in contention, deploy creative innovative, stakeholder-based, consensus-building processes (Forester, 1989).

Despite a series of developments from its genesis ((Healey, 1992, Forester, 1994, Sager, 1994, Healey and Hillier, 1996, Forester, 1997, 1999, Healey, 1999, Fischler, 2000, Healey, 2003, Sager, 2006), communicative planning fundamentally favors more *qualitative, interpretive inquiry* than logical deductive analysis; it aims to understand the unique and the contextual rather than make general propositions; and it tells stories and looks for insights rather than tries to impose order and definition (Mandelbaum, 1991). More recently, Elisabeth Hamin proposes and applies what she calls as an "interpretive planning model" which focuses on: ***a.*** deconstruction and interpretation of planning documents; ***b.*** the stories told by planners about their work; ***c.*** the process roles of storytelling or *communication in planning* (Hamin, 2003: 176*).*

Steps

In this qualitative and interpretive spirit, my analysis of urban renewal planning scheme in Kensington Market follows Dvora Yanow's steps to an Interpretive Policy Analysis Model (Yanow, 2000: 21-2). The interpretive communities arise around a shared point of view relative to a policy issue (Yanow, 2000), and will be identified from initial documentary analysis, including City of Toronto Planning Board minutes,

residential associations minutes, city directories, census records, and etc. In the table below (table 1), the major steps in Interpretive Policy Analysis are listed on the left, and how they are utilized in the Kensington Market project are laid out on the right.

Table 1 Steps in Interpretive Policy Analysis vs. Kensington Market Project

Steps in Interpretive Policy Analysis Model	**Steps in Kensington Market Project**
1. Identify the artifacts (language, objects, acts) that are significant carriers of meaning for a given policy issues, as perceived by *policy-relevant actors* and *interpretive communities*.	a. Written documents: 1957 Market Plan, 1962 Market study, 1966-69 urban renewal program and a detail study of Kensington, 1960s Spadina Expressway project b. Built environment: altered or demolished as a result—how to tell a policy story? [16]
2. Identify communities of meaning/interpretation/speech/practice that are relevant to the policy issue under analysis	a. Professionals (planners and city officials) b. Kensington Area Residents Association (KARA)[17] c. Kensington Urban Renewal Committee (KURC) d. Kensington Market Businessmen's Association (KMBA) e. Spadina Businessmen's Association (SBA) f. Local residents: property owners, tenants, and business owners
3. Identify the "discourses": the specific meanings being communicated through specific artifacts and their entailments (in thoughts, speech, and act)	Not Applicable
4. Identify the points of conflict and their conceptual sources (affective, cognitive, and/or moral) that reflect different interpretations by different communities	a. Unpleasant planning concepts, including, traffic congestion, lack of laneways, parking, and servicing problems →the professional vs. the public b. Special identity or neighborhood character →understanding of urban renewal →different cultural assumptions underline what constitutes "identity" or "character" c. Power and representation d. Cultural & language issues
5. Interventions/Actions 5a. Show implications of different meanings/interpretations for policy formulation and/or action 5b. Show that differences reflect different way of seeing 5c. Negotiate/mediate/intervene in some other form to bridge differences	Public participation → interpretation of the goal of participation can create a source of conflict: To decentralize decision-making; redistribution of political or economic power; and citizen groups need to develop its own planning and leadership process Demolition vs. preservation → insiders vs. outsiders: who owns the building/space? Whose memory, whose history?

Collective Memory and Kensington Market: A Culturally Sensitive Narrative Approach (CSNA)

Chapter 5 pursues one of the sources of interpretive gaps or conflicts identified in Chapter Four, which is the tendency to marginalize, if not totally exclude, local memories. It further explores the mutual relationship between collective memory and urban landscapes in Kensington Market. It takes a selective look at some significant sites of memory whose traces remained or were transformed, maps those sites, then connects them into a narrative path that follows the social and economic development of the area since the 1960s. Through field observation, oral history interviewing, and material cultural analysis, this part of study constitutes an empirical study of CSNA.

The provenance of CSNA lies in convergent assumptions of preservation planning and public history. Preserving urban landscapes starts then from interpreting them as public history. Jo Blatti, quoting David Carr and Henry Glassie, argues that "our knowledge of the past is a fundamental cultural resource, much too important to be delegated to experts." (Blatti, 1990: 615) Provocative as the statement sounds, she suggests something far more significant: a change in ownership of interpretive authority. Michael Frisch's concept of "a shared authority" poses a similar challenge (Frisch, 1990).

Authenticity, pursued so fervently in the name of objectivity, seems an elusive goal. Oral history, nevertheless, "has a special claim toward that elusive, even illusionary goal, the truth": this claim cannot be found in the reliability or verifiability of oral history include evidence, but in the interviewees' own irrefutable claim to the truth, that is, the

truth for him or her. Interviewers are obliged to handle that truth with care and even revere it, because it is so personal and extracted in such a personal way." (Blatz, 1990: 22) Oral history interviewing stands afoot to this challenge, precisely because it provokes and negotiates a space between the professionals and the public voices. "No study of the interior life of ethnic communities can go on without use of oral testimony", Robert F. Harney notes. (Harney and Multicultural History Society of Ontario., 1985:3) In this way, "oral history is de facto a kind of public history" (Shopes, 2002: 597)[18] In a spirit of critical inquiry, in a dialogic and participatory culture, oral histories of the insiders can help broaden historic narratives, and eventually, preserve historic truths.

Interview Outlines

The interview outline,[19] based on Robert Harney's *Oral Testimony and Ethnic Studies*, (Harney and Multicultural History Society of Ontario., 1978) and *Oral Testimony and Community History: A Guide* (Petroff, 2002), summarizes some key topics for discussion and taping in this study.

The oral history interviewing takes what Linda Shopes calls as a "problem-centered approach." (Shopes, 1984: 151-158) The primary concern of Kensington Market project is about built environment, namely, housing, settlement, neighborhood, public and community space. The interpretive community, as defined in Chapter Four, takes its shape around the intersections of individual lives. Those with a long-term association with the area merited special recognition. Yet to better capture a richer and fuller picture of transformed landscapes, interviews also included outsiders and newcomers.

Interviewees were encouraged to describe their early lives and their places of origin, occupational and geographical mobility patterns, migration history and perspectives on emigration. In Perry Blatz's words, interviewers should "encourage interviewees to speak as fully as they choose about their lives" (Blatz, 1990: 22). However, there are differences between life history interviews and oral histories. A life history is a multidisciplinary research method that comes from psychology, ethnography and oral history. It clarifies individuals' life stories, shows how those stories represent a coherent whole, and highlights the relations with other individuals' life stories as well as with the community as a whole. It follows chronology with open-ended questions. It also tends to be interviewee-led, with little time restrictions. But the oral history, on the other hand, records, preserve, and interpret historic information based on personal experience. It also includes folklore, myths, songs and stories passed down over generations. In this project, life history composes just a portion of the interviews. For the life-history part of the interview, I applied the *Sample Life-Story Interview Questions* at the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling, Concordia University, Montreal. The process helps to establish rapport between the interviewer and the informants, but the overarching theme of this project remains place and memory. Most questions were open-ended, starting with "how", "why", and "what do/did you think about".

Interview Data Collection [20]

After the study sites were selected, I researched the available documents, drawings, plans, and historic photographs of each. I also studied existing oral histories from a variety of sources that are relevant to the Kensington.[21] Most of those oral

histories are not summarized, much less transcribed, so it is difficult to establish a proper context for interpretation. However, I managed to find two more recent oral histories that offer a fuller depiction combining biographic information and historical insights into the evolution of Kensington Market.[22] For the secondary oral history data analysis, I remained aware of the "gap between living through an experience and studying from the experience"(Grele, 1987: 573) , especially the social context in which the interviews took place.

Ellen Scheinberg, Director of Ontario Jewish Archives, suggested a few potential interviewees, most of whom were family members from the selected sites, such as Gurion and Ruth Hyman from the Hyman family, and Philip Ladovsky, current co-owners of the United Bakers. For the Market, I started with the city records to identify stores or persons who have stayed there for the longest time.

While establishing the initial interface with the interviewees, I immersed myself in Kensington Market for field investigation and participant observation. The field activities, ethnographic by nature, included: taking building-by-building street-by-street photographs, comparing them with historic photographs, and cross-referencing them with the city records; talking informally with some store owners and visitors, trying to identify potential interviewee respondents; participating in the Sabbath service at Kiev synagogue on Saturdays (from 9AM to 12:00 PM) and celebrating Kiddush with the congregates after the service; visiting and eating at the United Bakers, etc.

I have approached Kensington Market as cultural landscapes, or a *locus*, defined by Casey as "a place easily grasped by the memory" (Casey, 1987: 202). D.W. Meinig

wrote in *The Beholding Eye: The Versions of the Same Scene*, "(Such a viewer) begins by being at once comprehensive and naive: by encompassing all and accepting everything he sees as being of some interest. It is landscape as environment, embracing all that we live amidst, and thus it cultivates a sensitivity to details, to texture, color, all the nuances of visual relationships, and more, for environment engages all of our senses, the sounds and smells and ineffable feel of a place as well. Such a viewer attempts to penetrate common generalizations to appreciate the unique flavor of whatever he encounters." (Meinig and Jackson, 1979: 45) In this process, Kensington Market gradually became my academic fascination. To get a more accurate picture of the neighborhood, I visited different sites within the study boundary at different times of the day, and at different days of each week: I spent five hours on average each day, and three days a week, from the end of May until the end of July, 2009.

Starting from mid-August 2009, I conducted the first round of interviews. Then, using the snowball technique, I quickly established a second round interviewee list. For each place, I finished three to four interviews, and for some interviewees, I arranged subsequent interviews for follow-up visits.[23] In general, I called the interviewees to briefly introduce myself and the project. Fortunately, all of the respondents were interested in face-to-face interviews, so it was more challenging to accommodate different schedules rather than finding informants. Aside from Hyman's Bookstore, which is now the Jewish Public Library, all the interviews took place in a home or store setting, where I was able to observe, while interviewing. The interviews thus became a wonderful witness to the daily life of the individual store-owners and the community as a whole.

Interview Data Analysis: Stories Matter

The goal of the qualitative analysis is to "discover variation, portray shades of meaning, and examine complexity"(Rubin and Rubin, 1995: 202). Field data, including participant observation, architectural investigations, and oral history interviews, is analyzed to serve this goal. The interview data were not transcribed verbatim, because much of the point of interviewing would be lost. Oral history data is a historic source, not history, so tampering with its form or content will not make it more authentic or accurate, according to Robert Harney. Instead of transcription, I used *Stories Matter*, an oral history database tool. It allows for the archiving of digital video and audio materials, and enables researchers to annotate, analyze, and evaluate materials in the oral history data.[24] I worked as Visiting Oral Historian at the Center for Oral History and Digital Storytelling at Concordia University from November 2009 to February 2010 to process my field data.

Not all interview respondents are quoted in the following analysis. Instead, I limit the numbers of the quotes to acquire depth of the narrative, and also to present a fuller picture of each site. To achieve maximum validity and accuracy, I used only the interviews that I conducted and taped, though the relevant interviews listed in the previous sheet provided helpful information in organizing the themes.[25] The majority of the interview respondents from the Market spoke English as their second or third language, so grammar errors often occurred. To ensure the accuracy and also to better capture the tone, such as *how* things were described and *how* opinions were expressed, I did not correct those errors so long as they did not interfere with the general understanding.

Validity of Research

To assure the overall validity of this research, I have tested the resulting analysis for the trustworthiness of the interpretation, rather than the truth of it, as suggested by Reissman (Riessman, 1993), as the truth of an interpretation is bounded both by the tolerance of empirical reality and by the consensus of the scholarly community (Kirk and Miller, 1986). Specifically, Yin's case study tactics (Yin, 2003: 34), as follows, helped me improve the validity of this study.

1. *Constructing Validity*

    - Use multiple sources of evidence →documentary analysis, oral history interviewing, observation, material cultural analysis (data collection and analysis)

    - Establish chain of evidence →identify sources of interpretive gap in article II to guide fieldwork for article III, site selections, follow research protocol, and track data base (data collection and analysis)

    - Have key informants review draft case study report → have key informants review either the whole draft or the relevant portion of the draft (data analysis)

2. *Internal Validity*

    - Explanation building →interpretive analysis of preservation policies (article II), and logic connecting article II and III (data analysis)

3. *External Validity*

    - Replication logic →build a critical case (data analysis)

4. *Reliability*

    - Use case study protocol → oral history interviewing guide (data collection)

    - Develop case study data base → keep four separate field notes: 1. Short notes made at the time; 2. Expanded notes made immediately after the interview; 3. A field journal to record new ideas occurring at each stage of

research; 4. A provisional running record of analysis and interpretation.[26] Along with taped interviews, those notes will be cross-referenced to ensure the reliability of field data.

Basically, this study challenges the traditional preservation planning processes, and provides remedies to their shortcomings. In the last chapter, I summarized seven steps of what I have called a "culturally sensitive narrative approach" (CNSA), concluded that urban landscapes should be interpreted and preserved as public history.

CHAPTER 2

WHOSE HISTORY, WHOSE MEMORY? A SHARED AUTHORITY IN PRESERVATION PLANNING

Introduction

The 20th century witnessed the expansion of historic preservation from a handful of scattered efforts to salvage elite houses to an organized social movement.[27] It has achieved admirable progress as arguably one of "the broadest and longest-lasting land-use reform efforts" (Page and Mason, 2004: 3), although it is interestingly separate from much of what is considered the bread-and-butter of planning such as zoning and other land use regulation. In recent years, preservation planning has moved from what was a staid, traditionalist field toward an emerging practice that embraces a subtly revolutionary approach encouraging a widely-spread recognition of the shared, diverse, conflicting, and emotional character of urban landscapes. To achieve this broader perspective, preservation planning's domain of interest has shifted from individual structures toward wider landscapes, neighborhoods, and sites of production, with greater emphasis on public participation. Actors of all sorts are likely to become engaged in sometimes fierce contestation over whose history to preserve, which stories to tell and which to keep quiet, and what counts as authentic. This requires more deliberative processes that engage and value the opinions of non-experts, a narrative approach allowing the walking-through of histories, the senses of place, to remain alive. With this, preservation can become an integral part of a larger planning practice, one which uses the tools of wider participatory methods of planning and contributes to a greater depth of emotional attachment and place identity in the outcomes of the planning process.

Traditional Preservation Planning

Appreciating the changes that have taken place in preservation planning requires some understanding of its roots. In 1965 Charles Hosmer published one of the first scholarly accounts of preservation planning. In it, he generalized the major groups of criteria for why preservation should be undertaken (patriotic inspiration, local and civic pride, the need for exhibition areas, family pride, commercial objectives, and architectural or aesthetic enjoyment (Hosmer, 1965: 3)) based on the forensic evidence of the basic accomplishments of the early preservationists, namely, large numbers of historic landmarks which are still with us today. The pioneers of the preservation movement convinced some Americans to accept the idea of spending money for the seemingly profitless activity of saving a few spots that contribute to the study of history or the enjoyment of beauty (Hosmer, 1965: 303).

Starting from Hosmer's impressive study of the history of American preservation, which began to create "a national memory of the preservation field" (Page and Mason, 2004: 8), and the groundbreaking *With Heritage So Rich* emerging from within the preservation movement (United States Conference of Mayors. Special Committee on Historic Preservation. *et al.*, 1966), a number of studies are accepted as preservation catechisms.[28] A substantial body of academic work coalesced around the critical history, theory, and practice of preserving buildings, exemplified by the work of James Martson Fitch and particularly William Murtagh (Fitch, 1982, Murtagh, 1988).[29] In tandem with these academic efforts came the landmark case in 1978, *Penn Central Transportation Co. et al v. New York Co. et al*. In it, Justice William J. Brennan Jr. observed a "… widely shared belief that structures with special historic, cultural, or architectural significance

enhance the quality of life for *all*. Not only do these buildings and their workmanship represent the lessons of the past and embody precious features of our heritage, they serve as examples of quality for today. Historic conservation is but one aspect of the much larger problem, basically an environmental one, of enhancing -- or perhaps developing for the first time -- the quality for people" (Stipe, 2003: 183).

As a social movement (organized through an interlocking constituency with shared commitments at local, state, national and international levels) in both Western Europe and North America, historic preservation is pursued in concert with urban development (Page and Mason, 2004: 10), and especially in the United States from the 1920s to 1950s, significantly overlapped with the planning movement. Michael Holleran and Randall Mason both argue that "urban planner and even real estate developer were just other names for preservationists, especially in the early twentieth century" (Page and Mason, 2004: 11).[30] Yet from the heroic effort of Ann Pamela Cunningham to save Mount Vernon in 1853, to the first zoning ordinance to encourage preservation in Charleston in 1931, and to the failed attempt in 1963 to save Penn Station in New York, traditional preservation planning, mostly stimulated by imminent demolitions, has emphasized the end results -- the preserved buildings and sites, with little thought to the quality of the process. Indeed, the process was largely expert driven and centered around structures of the rich and powerful, leading to a conservative image of preservation being embedded in the status quo and adverse to change. Kevin Lynch, for instance, points out that "preservation has been the work of established middle- and upper-class citizens. The history enshrined in museums is chosen and interpreted by those who give the dollars" (Lynch, 1972: 29). Preservationists thus become the "keepers of the moribund, if not

downright dead" (Bookspan, 2001: 8): all stand opposite to planning, which is associated with change and forward-looking transformation. It is perhaps no wonder that historic preservation has generally been a fairly distant relation, considered peripheral to 'real' planning.

Limits to the Traditional Approach

As daring and passionate as those earlier theoretical and judicial inquiries were, their authors primarily aimed to define preservation as a taken-for-granted social good, "an inherently altruistic and beneficial act" (Thomas, 2004: 11-5); in this view, preserving monumental structures unquestionably contributed to "the quality of life for all." The significant changes in social order and theory beginning in the 1960s, however, slowly trickled into historic preservation, with an awareness by academics and practitioners that standard practices left the question of 'good for whom' unasked, and without that, the fundamental premise of social good is on shaky ground. The assumption that buildings and landscapes worthy of preservation were those created by the upper and middle classes required challenge. With this, the core issues of preservation opened up: what is *historic* at a particular time and place? If preservation is largely driven by nostalgic, patriotic, and arguably intellectual fever, which version of history is preserved under those motives? Who is actually involved in defining what is "historically significant"? What and who is missing from the preserved landscapes? Underlying and uniting these questions, we find three limits to the traditional approach to preservation planning: first, historic authenticity is a valid goal, and is painstakingly pursued; second, historic narratives are pigeonholed, beret of residents' voices; third, there lacks the attention to the intangible aspects, particularly memory and sense of place.

Authenticity: A Cherished Myth

Professionals and theorists are understandably nervous about the idea of authenticity. The public generally expects an 'authentic' history, a clear story that matches a singular truth, with preservation being designed to provide a physical touchstone for "the simple axiom that history is basically an effort to tell the truth about the past".[31] A more educated audience, however, acknowledges that history is always a representation, always a textual reconstruction of the past, and never a direct reflection of it; it is subject to the perpetual bias of both the narrators and audience. Pure authenticity seems an inapproachable goal of historical inquiry. The attempt to tell the truth about the past becomes a socially responsible endeavor, but the very naivety diminishes our capacity to deal with messy, contested, and interpretive history, which, curiously, turns out to be more relevant and usable. After all, should we seek *the* true version of history, and hold on to it? Given the complexity of history's multiple layers, this apparently simpler conceptual parameter does not in fact render much practical guidance in specific preservation situations. It also reduces the complexity of its spatial representations: authentic place-making and multiple senses of place. An authentic attitude to place, argues Edward Relph, is understood to be "a direct and genuine experience of the entire complex of the identity of places – not mediated and distorted through a series of quite arbitrary social and intellectual fashions about how that experience should be, nor following stereotyped conventions." (Relph, 1976: 64) He further draws the distinction between architecturally designed or planned places and unconsciously-made places, and concludes that "place-making is a continuous process and the very fact of having been lived-in and used and experienced will lend many places a degree of authenticity", or

"places can be experienced with different intensities of authenticity, and so they can be created with varying degrees of authenticity" (Relph, 1976: 78), so "authentification can never be complete, for it can never reach the deepest levels of sense of place." (Relph, 1976: 71)

For this inability to fully capture authenticity, Diane Barthel argues that the search for authenticity is always an elusive quest, for preservation is an object lesson in the politics of culture: "A historic representation can be judged authentic or inauthentic on the basis of its site, structure, and content. Authenticity in the case of site can be defined as the original site; in the case of structure, as the original building (recognizing how authenticity is manipulated and redefined through processes of maintenance and restoration). In the case of content, authenticity is even more difficult to judge… one tack is to emphasize motive, with *authenticity* defined as a concerted effort to achieve historically accurate representations. The ultimate historic 'Truth' of the representation may remain unknown, or may be revealed at a later time to be something quite different than imagined" (Barthel, 1996: 8).

David Lowenthal further argues that what counted as authentic shifted continually from substance to form to process and to images and ritual performance; authenticity therefore is both "time-bound" and "culture-bound." (Lowenthal, 2008: 9) Indeed, the very quest for authenticity alters its nature (p.10). Interpreting the past unavoidably surpasses immediate concerns: we deal with creations begun some time ago, often before our own epoch; we save and interpret them for future generations. It may be more productive instead to seek to understand what the different social actors – preservationists, politicians, developers, and public – think is authentic and why authenticity matters to

them, if indeed, it does matter (Barthel, 1996: 10). Lower-case truth, and perhaps truths, that move toward a goal of authenticity without expectation of any particular arrival, are simply more feasible in the public process.

If absolute authenticity is neither possible nor necessary, the next question we ask is, which version of history is the one to preserve? How is the selection process evolved and intertwined in political power struggles? How does faith in authenticity clash with interpretive flexibility, which may encourage the opposite outcome, i.e. a fabrication of heritage (Lowenthal, 1996)? At its worst, this flexibility can lead to invented or imagined traditions selected for their potential to be sold and consumed, often going by the catch-all of 'heritage.' Perhaps more commonly, heritage as practiced in communities becomes local history selectively perceived and explained through a rosy glow. Lowenthal, for example, retains his basic attitude that heritage, at its best, is an act of *faith* (Lowenthal, 1996), since the very act of interpretation changes the residues of history (2008). Despite this, he argues for the social and spiritual benefits of heritage, and praises that "heritage underpins and enriches continuities with those who came before and those who will come after" (p. 11).

Single History, Visible Narrative: What is Missing?

As a certain version of history becomes the accepted narrative and eventually the ultimate criteria of a successful preservation initiative, the simplified historic narrative by definition excludes other interpretations, and particularly contested ones. Marginalized social and cultural groups, whose built landscapes and structures may be less intuitively pleasing to the residents, whose history may be more patriotically complicated and less uplifting, run a great risk of having their history be largely rendered into oblivion,

intentionally or unintentionally, and disappearing from the urban landscape (Dubrow and Goodman, 2003). Taking up the challenge of connecting the tangible and intangible values associated with places, Gail Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman argue that the answer to the fundamental question posed by Stipe but largely unanswered -- *why preserve* (Stipe, 2003) -- lies in the curatorial promise of preservation to archive an otherwise lost historical consciousness. Antoinette J. Lee traces the trajectory of cultural and ethnic diversity awareness, as well as its role in shaping the future of historic preservation, and demonstrates how the expansion of cultural limits beyond the traditional mainstream has benefited the profession – and a nation – as a whole (Stipe, 2003: 384-404).[32] The importance of this inclusiveness is irrefutable: for example, how can we understand Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, without viewing the slave quarters there?[33] While these arguments may not break new ground,[34] they certainly remind us of previously neglected chapters in preservation. Understanding why certain groups are typically ignored or stand outside of the preservation agenda becomes one of the central tasks of a progressive historical preservation project, as well as acting on that knowledge.

History is contested. Do we simply preserve a sanctified past full of symbols that mark the euphoric progress, positive social chemistry, and cultural fluoresces? How should planners deal with troubling and difficult history? What about locales that testify to human suffering, social intolerance, and class injustice? Answers to those questions raise further moral and ethical responsibilities. Urban preservation in communist ruled countries vividly illustrates the ideological conflict.[35] The rapid redevelopment, often interpreted as destruction, of traditional urban neighborhoods in China, for instance, is largely in response to the sheer concentration of power or absolute political will and a

culture celebrating progress (Li, 2010). Support for the local historic character conveniently slips outside the agenda, and the resulting built environment poorly represents any sense of the long history of communities in those places. Worse than the loss of the physical structures, the spirit of the place, or in Anthony Tung's words, the "city's capacity to tell its past" and "collective understanding of the city as a whole" (Tung, 2001: 414), gets ruptured. Consequently, collective memories in those places are deliberately suppressed or ignored. The most powerful in the social hierarchy or professionals decide for ordinary people what should or should not be remembered and forgotten. Bodnar argues that, "cultural leaders, usually grounded in institutional and professional structures, envisioned a nation of dutiful and united citizens which undertook only orderly change. These officials saw the past as a device that could help them attain these goals and never tired of using commemoration to restate what they thought the social order and citizen behavior should be" (Bodnar, 1992). This intentional jettisoning of the problematic past and preserving a sanctified one is, of course, not limited to post-communist cultures, and instead forms some of core debate that surrounds preservation in emotionally or economically highly-charged locales.

Culture and Memory: Multiple Senses of Place

Despite an increasing awareness of the social and contestation dimensions in preservation,[36] there still has been fairly limited scholarly attention to and in-depth analysis of what makes built environments contested, emotional, and political: the role of collective memory and specific cultural protocols.

Collective memory, acting as the meeting ground between the past and the present, connects the physical world with a gamut of values, cultural, social, individual, and

community, and offers insights in the collective and retrospective version of the past through shared frames for understanding. It is therefore socially constructed (Bartlett, 1932). By constructing and sustaining the essence of urban places, collective memory can help us in very specific ways to make intellectual and personal connections with physical landscapes. Meanwhile, a sense of history embedded in collective memory locates us in time and space, "connecting our personal experience and memories with those of a larger community, region, and nation", as David Glassberg explains powerfully in his *Sense of History*, that a perspective on the past is at the core of who a community is and the places they care about (Glassberg, 2001). All collective memory involves a spatial dimension in a dynamic as powerful as the dialectic between remembering and forgetting. Once this interplay is translated into physical form and assumes certain security, it makes a fixed and sometimes permanent imprint on the landscapes, which, in turn, reshapes the public understanding of the past. This mutually evolving process can spark or inhibit collective imagination, and make a strong psychological statement using the past, about the present and future. Given different interpretations of the same past, however, the process can be deeply fraught with politics, and often involves emotional conflicts. This is why the meanings of a place evolve with constant negotiations of multiple stakeholders, so instead of sense of place, we deal with *senses of place*.

A small body of literature from the field of urban planning and public history has started to deal with the subject of how memory shapes the physical environment on the urban scale. "Memory locates us as part of a family history, as part of a tribe or community, as a part of city-building and nation-making. Loss of memory is, basically, loss of identity" (Sandercock 1998). Dolores Hayden explores place memory and urban

preservation in *The Power of Place*, advocating a full historic representation and a strong participatory community process (Hayden 1995). She elaborates the idea of "place memory", coined by Edward Casey (Casey, 1987): "place memory encapsulates the human ability to connect with both the built and natural environments that are entwined in the cultural landscapes" (Hayden, 1995: 46). Christine Boyer also suggests in *The City of Collective Memory* that urban landscapes should be active systemizers of collective memory, to evoke "a better reading of the history written across the surface and hidden in forgotten subterrains of the city" (Boyer, 1994: 21). She quotes Maurice Halbwachs, saying: "Now space is a reality that endures: since our impressions rush by, one after another, and leave nothing behind in our mind, we can understand how we can recapture the past only by understanding how it is, in effect, preserved by our physical surroundings. It is to space – the space we occupy, traverse, have continual access to, or can at any time reconstruct in thought and imagination – that we must turn our attention. Our thought must focus on it if this or that category of remembrances is to reappear. (Halbwachs and Coser, 1992: 23-4)

But this individual reflection from seeing or experiencing a building is a fairly weak line of memory; a stronger, culturally lasting memory requires that we experience and share socially that memory evoked through the built environment. The city and its architecture provides a collective set of memory spots that enable people to create meaning to reproduce, recall, and retain their history through informal collective action. David Glassberg suggests that preservation should go beyond the "science" of documenting the historical significance of places, and acknowledge that the meanings of a place are socially created, multiple, and change over time (Glassberg, 2001: 157). In

this line of reasoning, buildings alone cannot preserve memory; the social practice behind it does.

Planning for Preservation

"Saving the past can be a way of learning for the future." Kevin Lynch beautifully expresses this vision: "Each celebration is also a nostalgic festival, which reaches back to memories of the dead kin mutually known to those who have met together. As we shall see, past and future time may be 'borrowed' to enlarge a present, just as we 'borrow' outside space to enlarge a small locality." (Lynch, 1972: 43, 88) Planning for preservation connects the past, the present, and the future. Seymour Mandelbaum argues that *a sense of history* is good for planning as a profession (Mandelbaum, 1985). Since planners work within an imperfectly delimited profession and discipline, history has an important function in forming a group identity, as well as broadening the horizon of self-defined groups. Carl Becker's insight that history is myth making, an unconscious and necessary effort on the part of society to understand what it is doing in the light of what it has done and what it hopes to do (Becker, 1932), sheds light on preservation planning, given that planners as a group are action-driven and future-oriented. Mandelbaum explains that the first cognitive act of planners is to impose order upon the future: what do you want of it. How is an infinite buzz of possibilities transformed into a set of discrete choices about systems (Mandelbaum, 1985). These choices are conditioned by the past.

Carl Abbot and Sy Adler advocate for using historical analysis as a planning tool (Abbott and Adler, 1989), arguing that planners can benefit from *thinking historically* in very specific ways – without dwelling in the archives or even immersing themselves in

the growing scholarly literature on planning history (p. 467-472). Thinking like a historian may equip planners with a sense of time and proportion, or more accurately, a sense of the complexity (Abbott and Adler, 1989),[37] of issues at hand. This history need not be solely human history; understanding geologic history, for instance, helps to explain why development is where it is and where it can go in the future.

Christopher Silver writes that the urban South affords an exemplary case of historic preservation contributing directly to the broader processes of planning and revitalization (Silver, 1985, 1991). Though preservationists in southern cities are often portrayed as "the backward-looking guardians of a vanishing culture", their deep attachment to a contested and emotional history evoked in their built environment supplied an important justification for city planning and contributed directly to the implementation of planning strategies (Silver, 1991). Private urban preservation organizations developed the techniques of neighborhood conservation that became the mainstay of publicly backed housing improvement programs in most cities, which according to Silver, provided a valuable counterpoint to the dominant *restructuralist* (clearance) approach to city planning.[38] The movement from individual structure to contextual preservation became thus well established, and with the widespread condemnation of urban renewal's destruction of neighborhoods, the alternative presented by preservation and reinvestment gained favor.

Recent changes in the economy have also eased the integration of planning and preservation. Communities striving to move toward a 'creative class' (Florida, 2006) economy recognize that a mainstay of their attractive power is their uniqueness, and uniqueness comes from history – thus historic preservation becomes not an elitist tool or

anti-progress stance, but a foundational key to local growth. Residents strive to identify what is characteristic of their particular town and build on that to support local identity. Given this strong connection between economic development, local identity, and historic sense of place, general community planning can begin, rather then end, with identification of unique character and strengths ((Hamin, 2006); see also Hester1994). Thus for reasons both theoretical and practical, historic preservation planning is becoming a closer ally to comprehensive economic redevelopment.

Multicultural Expansion

The mainstreaming of preservation and history into planning, however, may stand in dialectical relationship to other significant movements within both participatory practice and historic preservation practice. As described above, interpreting cultural codes and nuances begs the question of what is excluded from the dominant historic narratives, and why. It is legitimate to emphasize a more inclusive communicative process, yet socially and culturally marginalized groups have often not found their ways into the well-established interpretive systems in the first place. Some of the urban spaces most drastically transformed by cultural diversity represent the most emotionally contested spaces. The ethnic neighborhoods across big North American cities, such as Boston, Chicago, New York City, and Toronto epitomize this conflict. What to an outsider may be an interesting ethnic urban landscape could be a social ghetto for an immigrant, as Robert Harney sharply observes, a place of menial, low-paying jobs and a meager living environment similar to their third world home countries (Harney and Multicultural History Society of Ontario., 1985) . What to professional planners may be a chaotic and seedy back alley that needs to be cleared out could be the most cherished

place with family and community memories to the local residents. Unless we expand the "official" narratives of those places, ethnic cultural voices remain invisible, and senses of places incomplete.

Displaced ethnic minorities essentially reflect the power relations between those who control the city images and those whose identity and history is lost. Luis Aponte-Pares convincingly demonstrates this power conflict in analyzing how casitas, rooted in Puerto Rico, have been admired, scorned, celebrated, ignored, and destroyed, and the process reflects the displacement of the Puerto Rican population in New York (Alanen and Melnick, 2000: 94-111). Sharon Zukin observes one of the key challenges in the new uniting of economic development and preservation: gentrification, such that preservation efforts induce change as "particularly people of color, are displaced from these public spaces they once considered theirs" (Zukin, 1995: 20). The ownership of space becomes a contested terrain: whose history and whose memory are we, as preservation professionals, trying to preserve, at what cost, and to whom?

Communities may vary in the extent to which all its members share a particular reading of history, since different versions of a community's history often coexist (Umemoto, 2001).[39] Ignoring this fact, even the most well-intentioned planning efforts may fail. Inviting individuals to express culturally distinct views, values, and visions can be intimidating, and balancing them becomes even more daunting.

Communicative Democracy

It is because of this complexity of history, its narrative quality and its particularities, its emotional content and economic value, that preservation planning stands to be one of the most communicative of the planning approaches. Done well, it

allows for a layered, multi-vocal outcome with many stories told rather than one 'consensus' outcome. The process itself can be liberal; David Thelen observes that "a *politics* that values active individual engagement over group, ideology, institution may be built by listening for and to the deepest needs that individuals present, in places that presently elude pundits and pollsters, as they use the past to sustain and change the course of their lives and the world" (Rosenzweig and Thelen, 1998: 207).

Doing this, however, is quite difficult. In *Expanding the Language of Planning*, Sandercock specifies cultural differentiation and change as one of the domains of planning (Sandercock *et al.*, 1999). "When people with different histories, cultures, and needs arrive in the cities, their presence inevitably disrupts the normative categories of social life and urban space (Crawford, 1995). The same is true when existing residents, invisible, repressed, unassertive, begin to assert their difference and to make claims on urban space and services and challenge accepted social norms" (Sandercock et al., 1999: 539). Karen Umemoto and Susan Thompson also recognize that confronting *otherness* and articulating the cultural values and social identities challenges planners working in culturally diversity communities (Umemoto, 2001, Thompson, 2003). Specific cultural norms, values, and ways of knowing and interpreting form the basis of judgment, and shape the quality of social interaction. So when a planner enters a community, (s)he enters an invisible cultural setting with temporal and spatial significance: culture, history, and memory, collectively, shape and re-shape the interpretive frames.

A second significant challenge is to the culture of professionalism itself. Finding the truth in history accords well with the way we are trained as professionals: to interpret and preserve and plan as objectively as possible, weighing different facts and interests to

attempt to develop a plan (Dalton, 1986: 147). It is deceptively easier to objectify and rationalize historic environments and employ a set of criteria for evaluation and inventory. Seeking an abstract authenticity dilutes our attention to the emotional, messy, sensual, and protean nature of history, ignoring the role that power plays in selecting what to preserve or to demolish. And indeed, as noted above, many community members ask for the historic truth, and it takes a strong planner indeed to admit that they do not know *the truth*, that it cannot be revealed, because the truth in a contested situation may not exist, only truths.

There are, in addition, challenges that cross into all public communicative processes. Examples include questions such as: what should we do with stakeholders we disagree with, or find reprehensible? In the interest of space, we will not seek to answer these, and only suggest that they are appropriate parts of the dialogue in historic preservation planning. In popular history, as well as in some aspects of planning, these truths often emerge as stories. Leonie Sandercock argues that story has a special importance in planning that has neither been fully understood nor sufficiently valued (Sandercock, 2003). In order to imagine the ultimately unrepresentable space, life and languages of the city, to make them legible, we translate them into narratives. The way we narrate the city becomes constitutive of urban reality, affecting the choices we make, the ways we then might act. She concludes that planning is performed through story,[40] in a myriad of ways: in process, as a catalyst for change, as a foundation, in policy, in pedagogy, in explanation and critique as well as justification of the status quo, and as moral exemplars (Sandercock, 2003). James Throgmorton contends that planning itself is an enacted and future-oriented narrative in which the participants are both characters

and joint authors (Throgmorton, 1996);[41] preservation planning would appear to be this, but even more so as the narrative arc encompasses a longer time frame. It becomes clear that the ways in which planners write and talk shape community, character, and culture. (Fischer and Forester, 1993, Hoch and American Planning, 1994, Sager, 1994, Innes, 1995) (Throgmorton *et al.*, 2000).

But, planners are not the only ones telling stories: the influence is mutual. The way that local residents bring forward their histories is often as stories, and these provide crucial insight into what a community needs to preserve, and the multiplicity of a structure or neighborhood's possible meanings. At its best, historical storytelling can help in forming *open moral communities* that allow multiple stories, diverse and often incommensurable narratives, to emplot both the past and the future (Mandelbaum, 2000). The power of emplotment is subtle, but real. The gathering up and reinterpretation of history and the future undertaken by Deborah and Frank Popper, for instance, in the Great Plains, argues for an entirely new vision of a restored, preserved, still working but very different region in this new century. The local resonance of their proposed narrative of the Buffalo Commons, according to them, is partially from the skill and good luck of finding a highly resonant metaphor to which residents can connect – but without this being appropriate to the residents' history, it would not have that resonance in the first place (Popper and Popper, 1999).

Hayden White remarks that there is a very substantial content to the form of stories told (White, 1987). Political contestants describe the world they know in crafted narratives with beginnings and endings, characters, plots, stages, and narrators. In effect, we try to control potential events by telling stories about them, emplotting the future just

as we do the past (Hirschhorn, 1980, Mandelbaum, 1985, Hamin, 2003). Storytelling carries the principal burden of learning about the experience of others as we project ourselves into their imagined worlds.

But once preservation addresses sites of contests, personal history, negative experience as well as positive experience, planning processes need to be much more explicitly concerned with accommodating, allowing, and managing emotions. John Forester pursues this line of thought in exploring how dialogue can be transformative learning (Forester, 1996). He is pioneering in demonstrating the *emotional* demands of planning in an ambiguous and politicized world, where emotional sensitivity can work as a source of knowledge and recognition, as well as a moral vision (Forester, 1999).

The reality of emotional situations in which people set out to win means that the premises that underlie communicative rationality, i.e. consensus can be reached through authentic dialogues, often does not hold: people may behave *irrationally* especially when communicating the emotional or contested issues, and they may communicate strategically, presenting issues that are more likely to win converts rather than the issues that lie at the center of their concerns (Hamin, 2003); further, the powerful may have little interest in authentic dialogue (Flyvberg 2002) . Abram (2000) rightly argues that the requirements that Innes (Innes, 1996) set for consensus-building process, i.e. the willingness of all parties to put aside power differentials, to be sincere, and to find solutions at the discussion table (p. 53), are in practice not achievable (Abram, 2000). In more complex, emotionally and historically fraught situations with diverse publics, we need to move beyond consensus building. A narrative approach to process management may help overcome these issues and achieve the goals of a culturally sensitive historical

preservation that brings forward multiple stories, multiple histories, and retains multiple senses of place. Despite the awareness of the power of narratives, it nevertheless largely remains at the process-level: it is inadequate to reflect the energy and vibrancy of the urban neighborhood we try to interpret, plan or preserve.

Response: A Culturally Sensitive Narrative Approach (CSNA)

First, to return to where we started: what is missing in recent preservation practices? Edward Chappell suggests that preservationists should sharpen their focus on the use of vernacular architecture for public history (Chappell, 2007), because vernacular structures often provide the most tangible evidence for how people lived in the past or live today. This renewed attention to the ordinary and the marginalized can bridge what William Pitcaithley calls "the spaces between" (Pitcaithley, 1999: 11), or rather, accommodate the multiple interpretations of history.

This more diverse and inclusive interpretation of history (Barthel 1996, Page and Mason 2004), brings a new awareness of what (and who) is invisible in the official representation. Interpreting and preserving the past often involves negotiations and re-negotiations of meanings and values, through signs, symbols, artifacts, and landscapes, along with political and power struggles. In fact, those sites of collective memory extend the temporal and spatial range of communication, and are inevitably situational. "In effect the physical durability of landscapes permits it to carry meaning into the future so as to help sustain memory and cultural traditions" (Foote, 2003: 33). The process also can be a personal as well as community journey of historical inquiry, which assists us in asking more important or urgent questions about the assumed historic truths or the themed cultural landscapes of various scales: whose past and whose memory are we trying to

interpret and preserve? Which version of history do we choose to remember or neglect? The larger, landscape - scale vernacular architecture more easily accommodates these multiple stories. Achieving these requires a highly participatory public process that builds on local historical narratives (Hamin, 2003). [42]

However, this well-intentioned participatory process may flounder in the face of local culture.[43] Some Asian cultural protocols,[44] for example, such as public respect for and obedience to the elder, the leader, or community gatekeepers, represent barriers to genuine public participation. In these cases in particular, emotional sensitivity based on understanding the power structures and cultural norms within a particular community become critical. Even within the same general culture, the public arrives at planning tables with different agendas, cultural values, and personal priorities, which are, most often, different from what we, as professionals, have programmed. As Douglas W. Rigby observes, "the experience of many of the immigrant residents with the government of the old country had not prepared them for the form of participatory democracy on which neighborhood involvement in planning is based." (Rigby, 1975: 70) Therefore, the challenge here is two-fold: first, how to communicate and balance the competing values through storytelling, and second, how to accomplish this in culturally diverse settings. A culturally sensitive narrative approach to urban landscape brings the two perspectives together (table 2). At its heart lies a shared authority in urban space: planners move toward a format of storytelling and oral history, to elicit the insiders' views, emotions, and above all, memories of the place. There are many cultures within which storytelling is commonly adopted to pass on knowledge and share collective memory, and this bears special significance for those who inherit a strong oral tradition. Under those

circumstances, providing venues for storytelling may serve to highlight different histories and their connections to built forms that are most meaningful for different groups of people. During these, the planner will need to attend to how stories are told and emotions evoked before rationality of choice comes the prior practical rationality of careful attention and critical listening (Forester, 1999).

Table 2 Comparison of Preservation Planning & Public History Perspectives

Explanatory Factors	**Convergent Assumptions**	**Divergent Foci**	
		Preservation Planning	Public History
Scope	Public →urban political process --> historical and social power Collective experience: the past, present, and future Public participation & civic engagement	Future-oriented	Past-oriented
Authority	A shared authority vs. a sole interpretive authority	Ownership of physical space	Historical interpretive power
Process	Communicative Narrative →emotional; cultural; psychic (memory)	Action-oriented → Bounded rationality & Consensus driven	Interpretive focused → Bounded rationality & Multiple voices and perspectives
Historic Thinking & Analysis	The past is to be remembered →remembering vs. forgetting Representation & reconstruction → Selective amnesia Context & frame of reference: locally defined	Visual & physical	Textual & historical

More concretely, oral history provides the most obvious academically-tested means of engaging storytelling in the process. Staughton Lynd advocates oral history from below (Lynd, 1993), to include the collective experience of the marginalized groups; Linda Shopes argues for essentially the same process -- a reflective, critical approach to memory in the context of community history (Shopes, 2002). Dolores Hayden explores place memory, suggesting the socially inclusive urban landscape interpretations (Hayden, 1988, 1995). All strive for a more inclusive and participatory approach to make the invisible visible. Unlike tangible sources which often go through a single interpretation, the symbolic and intended meaning of the oral history make it accumulative through generations and open to multiple interpretations. Preservation planners can gain some insight from this dedication to the ordinary and vernacular understanding of the past. “By tracing one’s personal roots and grounding one’s identity in some collectivity with a shared past, one acquires stability and the basis for community.” (Lerner, 1997: 118) Achieving this will require more time in the field, giving residents a chance to tell their own stories using their own pace and structure.

Furthermore, as J.B. Jackson perceives, with his life-long passion for vernacular landscapes, “A landscape without visible signs of political history is a landscape without memory or forethought. We are inclined to think that the value of monuments is simply to remind us of origins. They are much more valuable reminders of long-range, collective purpose, of goals and objectives and principles. As such even the least sightly of monuments gives a landscape beauty and dignity and keeps the collective memory alive.” (Jackson, 1984: 152) This kind of landscape, rich in public history and collective memories, poses harder questions: whose history and whose memories are we trying to

preserve? Shall we preserve and plan with, or against/ignore, those histories and memories?

CHAPTER 3

THE STUDY AREA: KENSINGTON MARKET, TORONTO

Kensington is an old part of the city. Its houses, many of them, were built in the 1870s and 1880s. The market that has given it a kind of fame is layered over with the struggles and hopes of a richly varied succession of immigrant groups… Kensington has always had an interior life of its own. It has always been a home, a workplace, a village.

COCHRANE & PIETROPAOLO, *Kensington* [45]

The residents are seeking an environment that is open to differences, where highly creative people are welcomed, regardless of ethnic background, creed, or sexual orientation. They prefer locations where there is an acceptance of multiplicity, where odd personal habits or extreme styles of dress are not only welcomed, but celebrated (Florida, 2002)… Kensington is such a place, and is truly the village within.

DUNG TAYLOR, *Kensington: The Village Within* [46]

In a letter to Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC)[47] in 2003, Carlos Teixeria, an urban geographer, proposed Kensington Market to be nominated as a "National Historical Site". Based on his extensive research on community and neighborhood change, ethnic entrepreneurship, and the social structure of Canadian cities, as well as two-decade field experience with different ethnic neighborhoods in the city of Toronto, Dr. Teixeria convincingly demonstrated how Kensington Market, one of the most important reception area for immigrants arriving in Toronto, remained remarkable: "the coming and going of its people – immigrants from all over the world – who have each contributed to the neighborhood and left culturally distinctive traces on its urban

landscape. This area has played an integral role in the history of immigrant settlement in Toronto, and in Canada as a whole."[48] More important, cultural tolerance and diversity continue to play out today. With this initiative, Kensington Market was designated as a National Historic Site of Canada in 2005. It followed in 2008 that HSMBC presented a plaque commemorating its historic significance, a definite official recognition. However, for a place that evolved organically and where businesses have thrived on informal personal connection and support, "official" seems a little mind-boggling. David Glassberg's observation, "a sense of history means a sense of home." (Glassberg, 2001: 208) offers fresh insight into this study of Kensington Market: in an era when, "more and more places and objects have been set aside as historic, stretching the limits of what we can possibly maintain, in the hope that later generations will find value in at least something that we have saved for them, and not forget about us." (Glassberg, 2001: 206) When The Honorable Jason Kenney, Secretary of State for Multiculturalism and Canadian Identity, presented the plaque commemorating Kensington Market on May 25, 2008, he said, "Our government is proud to recognize Kensington Market as a National Historic Site. The commemoration of Kensington Market by the Government of Canada will ensure that the important history will be appreciated for generations to come." [49] But the question remains: what kind of history will be imparted to posterity through Kensington Market? Seen from the official verses the vernacular perspective, Kensington Market is a prototypical case, that embodies many critical issues in urban preservation. The official and grass-roots efforts at interpretation and preservation constitute an exemplary response.

In what follows, I will trace the land and history of Kensington Market, the evolution of the neighborhood into a street market, and its ethnic and cultural pedigree leading up to its historic designation.

Land and History

The land that makes up Kensington Market was once wooded. Russell Creek ran across what is now Bellevue Avenue (figure 3). It was later covered over and became part of the sewer system. Before the first European settlers, the Mississauga Native people inhabited what we know today as Kensington. The first European settlers arrived in the late 1700s. The British took possession of the land as part of a massive land sale treaty first signed in 1787 in Prince Edward County with three Mississauga Native Chiefs. [50]As part of a 156 acre lot bought by Colonel George Tayler Dension in 1815, Kensington grew out of what was an exclusively residential area. Robert Denison donated a large parcel of land at Bellevue and College, and thus created the family's legacy to Kensington. (Gagan, 1973, Hudson and Architectural Conservancy of Ontario. Toronto Region Branch., 1993). The Denison family built a house which they named "Belle Vue", to the north of Denison Square, and was responsible for building St. Stephen Church in 1858, the first Toronto church west of Spadina Avenue. [51]

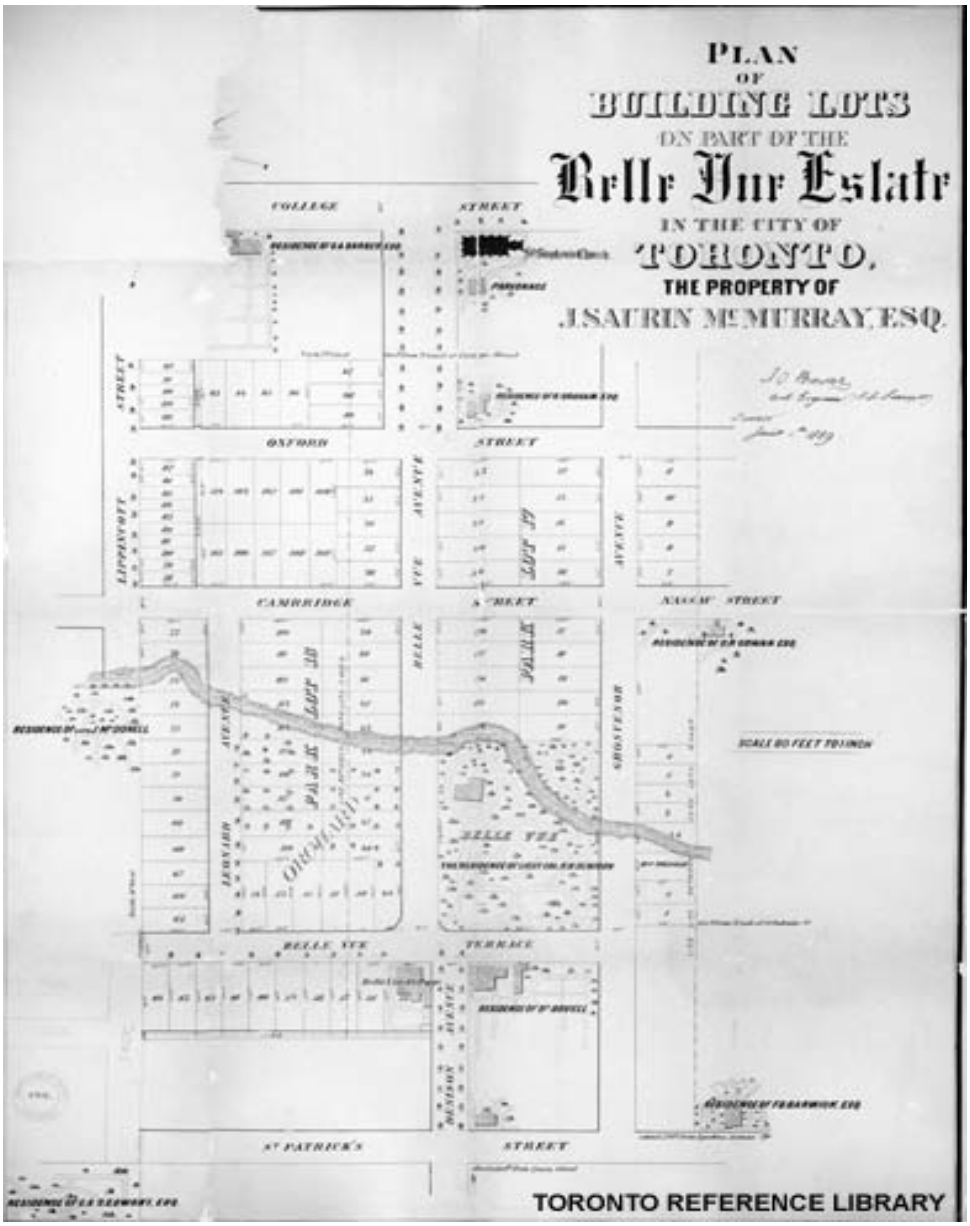


Figure 3 Plan of Building Lots on part of the Belle Vue Estate in the City of Toronto

Source: Toronto Reference Library

Prior to 1834 when Toronto was incorporated as a city, Kensington was an area of farmsteads laying just outside the city limits. With "a network of roads from the lakeshore into the hinterland, it became the wholesaling and distributing center" (Rigby,

1975: 26).With the coming of the railway in the 1850s, Toronto experienced a rapid growth in commercial activities and in manufacturing and wholesaling. It followed that the Toronto Street Railway (TSR) started horse-drawn streetcar service up Spadina Avenue, along College to Bathurst in 1880 (Barbara Myrvold, 1993). This accelerated the differentiation of residential areas.[52] Streetcars were running westward along the bordering streets to the north and south of the area by 1884. By the 1880s clearly defined functional areas had developed. The central business district (CBD) had become centered southeast of Kensington (Rigby, 1975: 26). An industrial district developed south of the CBD, and a wholesale area was concentrated south of the central business district near the lakeshore. Thus Kensington lay between the smaller lots and poorer houses to the south and the larger lots and more expensive houses to the north (figure 4).

Around the same time, the Denisons started to sell off lots from their property. The parcels were too large and too expensive for the increasing influx of British, Irish, and Scottish immigrants coming to Toronto. Therefore, the former Denison estate was subdivided into lots, which resulted in the high density of the area. Those smaller subdivisions formed the basis of Kensington Market's later morphology as a tightly knit community (Waldron, 2005). Most of the Anglo-Saxon immigrants influenced the building types in the area: single dwellings, duplexes, and rows of narrow two and two-and-a-half storey Queen Anne Style houses were built, which established the basic residential type in the Kensington Market. Many of the street names reflect this early influence.[53]

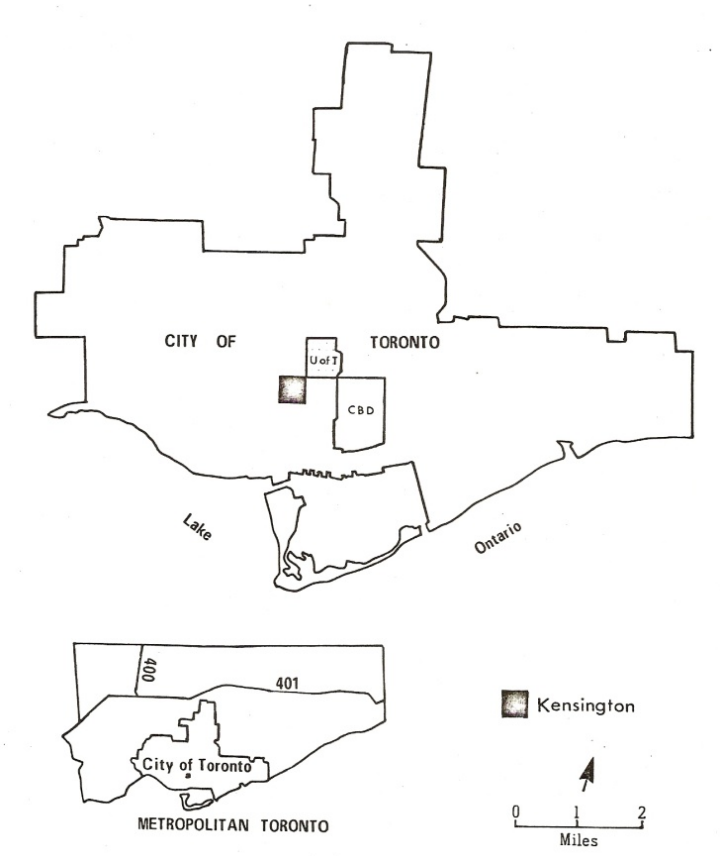


Figure 4 Kensington Market in the City of Toronto

Source: City of Toronto Planning Board, 1966

In the early 1900s, the immigrant pattern changed, however, when Toronto, a city embracing its budding cosmopolitanism, accommodated the first wave of non-British immigrants. Jews from Central and Southern Europe began to move into the Kensington area. They flooded the factories that took over Spadina Avenue and south of Dundas Street in the 1910s, because of the inexpensive housing and the prospect of setting up a shop there. The Ward, an overcrowded immigrant-reception area between Young Street and University Avenue,[54] maintained its Jewish character till the 1920s, when "it became dominated by the next wave of poor immigrants – the Italians; west of Spadina, in the narrow streets lined with cheap houses, a European-style market area, a shtetl, grew up

and was well established by the end of World War I. “The time, about 1920s, was one of considerable liberalism, social, change, and optimism; many of the Jews who ceased to reside in the ward became landlords, renting their old houses to poorer Jews. The move westwards to Kensington, and the Kensington Market area itself, represented a turning point in the life of the city’s Jewish community,” as Michael Kluckner notes. (Kluckner, 1988: 142)

At the same time, the city records show that, in 1901, 1921, 1941, and 1950, a significant increase of Jewish immigrants occurred, especially on Augusta Avenue: this constituted an extreme reversal of the dominant ethnic group. In 1901 Kensington Market was eighty percent Anglo-Canadian, yet by 1911 it was almost one hundred percent Jewish. [55] The reason for this surge remains a mystery.[56] Although a sample of the occupations of Kensington Market residents listed in the City Directory in 1886 indicates that the district population included quite a number of merchants and skilled artisans (Rigby, 1975: 27), the Jews brought the real commercial aspect to Kensington Market.

Figure 5 First Jewish Merchants in Kensington Market

Kensington's first Jewish merchants were the peddlers selling from carts and hose-drawn wagons, And some of them rented. There were also stables and blacksmith shops in the area.
Source: National Archives of Canada, PA-84814

Figure 6 The Largest Ethnic Group in British Toronto

The largest ethnic group in still very British Toronto was the Jews, who before 1914 had been leaving behind the storefronts of the Ward for Kensington Market.
Source: (Lemon and National Museum of Man (Canada), 1985: 54)

Kensington Market: a Street Market

I walked down to Kensington Market, Brought me a fish to fry; I went to the Silver Dollar, Looked a stranger in the eye

MURRY MCLAUCHLAN, *Down by the Henry Moore*, 1975 [57]

Kensington market isn't romantic if it's your home… I detest Kensington Market… When we first came to Canada, my educated and merchant father operated a grocery store on the south-west corner of Augusta and Nassau, which now is part of the "picturesque" Kensington Market. We barely eked out a "living", during the depression era. But it was the only solution for us.

EDA SHAPRIO lived in Kensington Market, *Toronto Daily Star*, 1970

As the area slowly evolved toward the residential, the market, the institutional, and the public (or community resource) area,[58] the influx of the Jewish business-minded population brought a new character to the Kensington area, and transformed the neighborhood into a street market.[59] Starting with merchants pushing handcarts in front of their homes on Kensington Avenue, Kensington Market gradually evolved in the early twentieth century with Eastern European Jewish immigrants, most of whom were refugees from Czarist pogroms and Bolshevik revolution. At first, it was backbreaking work peddling off of a cart, but the willingness of poorer Jews to bring the goods to customers gave them the edge over the shopkeepers.

"The seductive call of the huckster, the discord of hand bells and motor horns, the high-pitched wail of outraged housewives as they face the fact of 60 cents for 11 quarts of cherries – sour ones too – the wrangle of half a dozen determined females as they struggle to the death for that last luscious watermelon, and, like the unceasing, rhythmic beat of the drum in a Chinese drama, the steady quack of solemn ducks and the occasional indignant outburst of an otherwise immaculately mannered hen – of such is the merry din that breaks upon the visitor to the Thursday market in Kensington Place."
60

In 1926 an enterprising developer converted the ground floor of a number of houses along Baldwin Street, between Kensington Avenue and Augusta Avenue, into shops. These formed the nucleus for the subsequent concentration of shops and factories which spread along Baldwin, Kensington and Augusta Avenue to form Kensington

market (Rigby, 1975) . The city records show a great surge of renovation and development in the area between 1920 and 1935, which seems to prove a positive correlation of Jewish influx and commercial development.

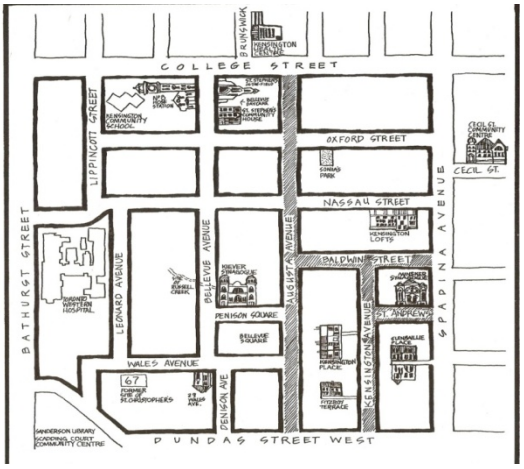


Figure 7 A Walking Tour of Kensington Market

The shaded area is the Market zone. *A Sense of Spadina* walking tour partly covers the Kensington area. *Source: (Y.M.C.A, 1973, Congress, 1974, Cochrane and Pietropaolo, 2000)*

After the Second World War, the Jews gradually moved out of the working class Kensington Market up north to Bathurst Street, and new immigrants from different ethno-cultural communities started to move in.

Kensington Market: A Multicultural Mosaic

Between 1945and the early 1960s, about 2.7 million immigrants came to Canada, and a quarter of them arrived in Toronto. [61] "Displaced persons of Eastern Europe and Italy, and disenfranchised Hungarian Jews escaping their homeland, made up a significant part of the postwar immigration to Kensington Market in the late 1940s and 1950s." (Lemon, 1985: 193) Some of them came as refugees to escape the wars in their home countries. Hungarians, for example, mostly Jews, were trying to escape the Soviet invasion of the

country in 1956, so they landed in Montreal, Halifax, and Toronto. [62] The Portuguese also tried to escape the dictatorship of the country in the 1950s, which prompted them to immigrate to Canada since 1953, 'when 550 Portuguese men were recruited by Portuguese and Canadian authorities to fill a shortage of Canadian labor." [63] For the Portuguese immigrants who came to Toronto, most of them chose to stay in Kensington Market, mostly because it provided affordable housing and small-business opportunities for those poor immigrants. Augusta Avenue became known as the *A rua dos Portugueses*, or "the street of the Portuguese." (Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2009) As the Portuguese took over the older Jewish businesses or started their own, Kensington Market became a multicultural gathering place for the city's new immigrants. Following their Jewish predecessors, in the mid-1960s, some Portuguese moved out of overcrowded Kensington Market, and established their villages west of Bathurst Street, and the Portuguese influences declined. However, they transformed many buildings along Augusta Avenue, and left a permanent mark on the Kensington Landscape.

I will detail some of the building characters later in this chapter, but the 1950s and 1960s witnessed Kensington Market transforming from a predominantly Jewish neighborhood into a multicultural mosaic. This was partly due to the 1962 Immigration Act amended to allow a more egalitarian process to evaluate the educational credentials and economic background of the immigrants. It followed a much more diverse immigrant influx from almost every ethnic and cultural groups around the world: Ukrainians, Poles, Afro-Caribbean, Chinese and East Asians, East Indians, among others.

From 1961 to 1971, the total population of Kensington Market decreased a little, from 5,494 to 4,885, with 3,280 born outside of Canada. But the ethnic components

changed dramatically: the gradual decrease of British, French, German, Russians and Italians, accompanied a steep increase of Asiatic population, from only 100 to 605.[64] In the 1980s, the diversity continued. In 1986, people who spoke Chinese as their first language surpassed those who spoke English by about 300.[65] A decade later, Chinese became the largest ethnic group in Kensington Market, followed by Portuguese, South Asians, Ukrainians, Jamaicans, and Filipinos.

Official verses Vernacular: Historic Designation of Kensington Market

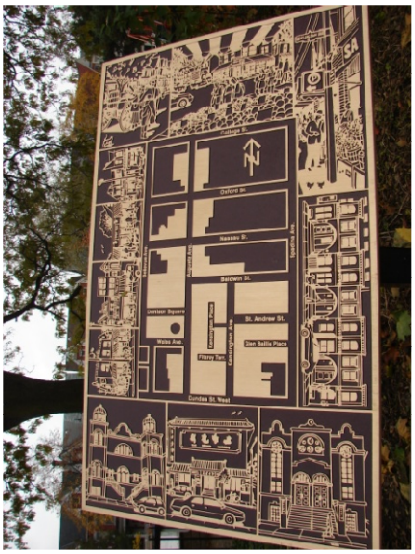


Figure 8 & Figure 9 Kensington Market Plaque

Kensington Market Plaque, located at Bellevue Park, near the intersection of Denison Square and Augusta Avenue.[66] Photo Courtesy: Na Li, October 29, 2009

A brief examination of the Kensington Market historic designation seems necessary. As mentioned earlier, in 2005, Dr. Carols Teixeira submitted Kensington Market to HSMBC for potential designation as a historic district[67] with the support of a neighborhood committee chaired by Marcia Cuthbert, a Toronto resident. Within the framework of HSMBC, Kensington Market was assessed first by relevant HSMBC

Criteria/Guidelines, and second by historic value of the place. The following HSMBC Criteria/Guidelines applied to Kensington Market.

- Criterion 1 (b), *illustrates or symbolizes in whole or in part a cultural tradition, a way of life, or ideas important in the development of Canada.*

- Specific Guideline 3.6 on Historic Districts, 1 (b**)** *a group of buildings, structure and open spaces, none of which may be of individual historical significance, but which together comprise an outstanding example of structures of technological or social significance,* and **1 (c)** *a group of buildings, structures and open spaces which share uncommonly strong associations with individuals, events and themes of national significance.*

- Specific Guideline 5.4 on Ethnic and Religious Groups: *The Board will assess the national historic significance of places, persons and events associated with the experience of ethnic or religious groups in Canada, rather than advocating an approach that would consider the commemoration of ethnic or religious groups themselves.*

As for *Historic Values of the Place,* Kensington Market reflects important historical themes in Canada relating to urban migration and settlement patterns, the development of small-scale businesses and entrepreneurs as a fundamental part of Canada's economic growth, the formation of cultural and religious identity through community organizations, and the expression of social and cultural history through a specific vernacular architecture that is characteristic of the neighborhood. (Waldron, 2005: 4-5) [68]

A historic district of national significance in the Canadian context, above all, must have a "sense of history": intrusive elements must be minimal, and the district's historic characteristics must predominate and set it apart from the areas that immediately surround it. Six aspects, namely, location, setting, design, material, use, and association, according to HSMBC, come into play.[69] As an immigrant reception area for waves of newcomers to Canada, Kensington Market has developed through constant flux. Its

beginnings in the 19th century established the *location* and *setting* of the present neighborhood. Changes in the economic situations and cultural influences of the first immigrants resulted in a commercial vernacular architecture with unique *design* and *material* specific to Kensington Market. Each successive wave of immigration to Toronto over the 20th century added layers of cultural richness and variety. This internal dynamism and living color of the businesses and everyday life of the area give Kensington Market its distinctive character, especially in its unplanned and organic evolution as an autonomous market in the heart of Toronto. The Market's vibrant atmosphere is directly *associated* with the area's ethnic diversity, which continues to change as new immigrants move to the area. (Waldron, 2005: 14) The following text will analyze those six attributes in a larger social and historic context.

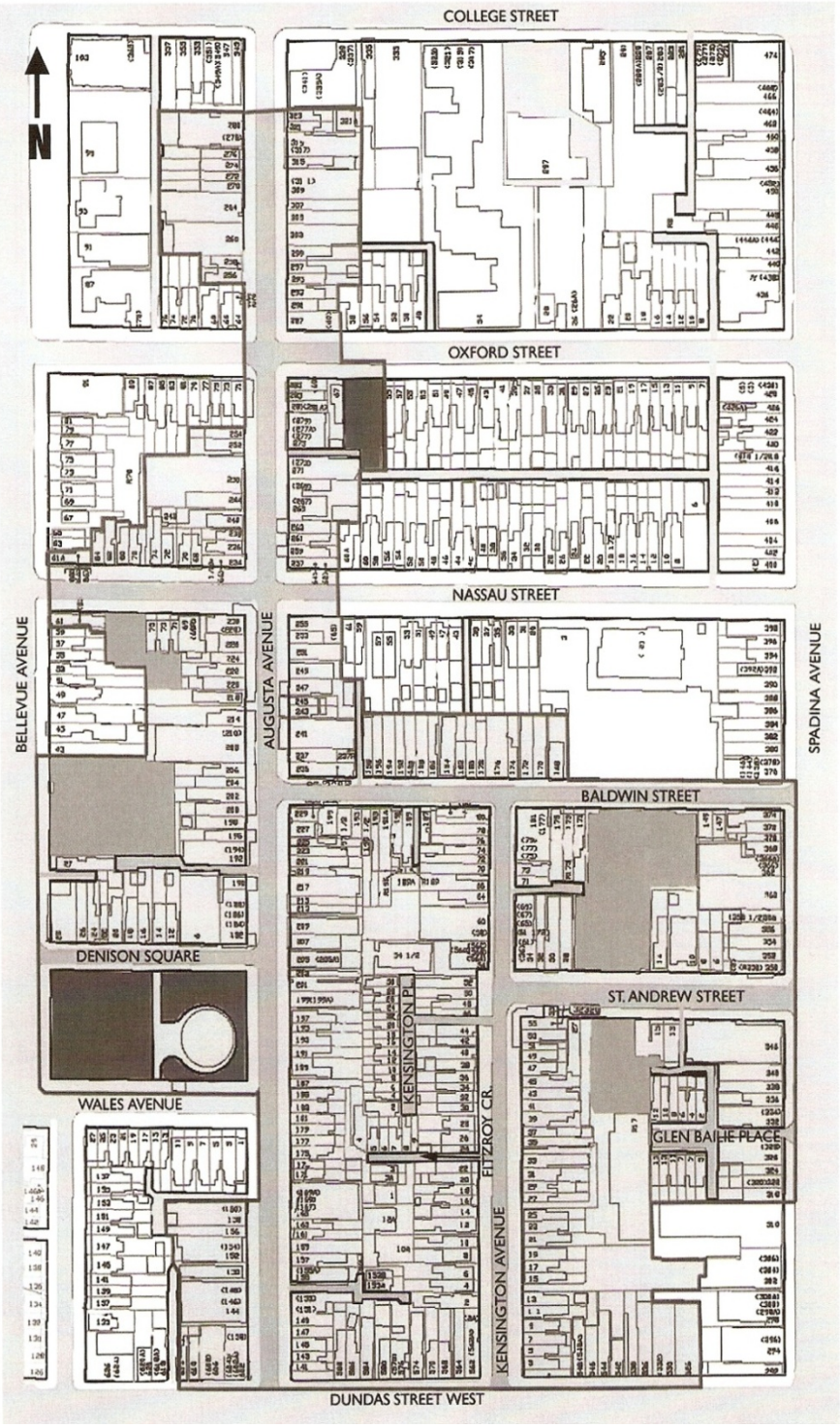


Figure 10 Boundary of Kensington Market Historic District

Different waves of immigrants brought in the sort of architectural styles that were unique to home cultures, and residences were transformed into shops based on owners' ethnic origin, aesthetic taste, cultural attachment, or practical adaptation to the changing market needs. The original building construction in the 1880 and 1890s, nevertheless, remains. Juxtaposition of newer additions with old Victorian residences, oddly enough, gives Kensington Market its distinctive *location*, defined by HSMBC, as the linkage between buildings, structures, sites, objects and spaces that continue to exist where they were first created. (Waldron, 2005: 14) The streetscapes reflect, in a broader way, the development of the Market's history from the Jewish Market period to the present multi-cultural ownership of the shops. The proximity of the buildings to the narrow streets, especially on Baldwin Street and parts of Augusta Avenue, reveals how Kensington Market developed differently than other areas of Toronto.

Figure 11 Original Houses on Kensington Avenue

Photo courtesy: Na Li, September 26, 2009

Figure 12 Kensington Avenue Streetscape Today

Photo courtesy: Na Li, September 26, 2009

Left: Figure 13 Baldwin Street in 1922 *Source*: National Archives of Canada, PA-084813.

Right: Figure 14 Baldwin Streetscape Today Photo Courtesy: Na Li, September 5, 2009.

The *setting*, the distinction given to an area due to readily definable boundaries and focal points, also remains. Kensington Market is readily distinguishable from its surrounding area by its density, informality, and development as a commercial area off of Toronto's more familiar commercial streetscapes along major streets and avenues. At each of the street entrances into the Market area, there is a clear change from larger

purpose-built commercial buildings to smaller converted ones. The area's high density on small affordable lots began in the late 19th century and survived because of the Jewish influx to the area. Without Jewish presence, residential buildings would likely not have been converted into small stores, bakeries and grocery stores. The Portuguese and later immigrants to the neighborhood perpetuated the Jewish traditions that have resulted in the present setting.

Figure 15 18 Kensington Avenue Around 1922

Around 1922, customers for chickens at Morris Zamonsky's at 18 Kensington Avenue There are several kosher slaughters in the Market and women who plucked the birds if you didn't do it yourself. *Source*: National Archives of Canada, PA-084812

The third attribute, *Design*, relates to a visual cohesiveness displayed through similar and dissimilar form, plan, space, structure and perhaps style. Kensington Market's design evolved informally and organically out of the 19th century. Two and two-and-a-half storey Victorian row houses on each of the streets have been modified to suit the business needs. A new vernacular architecture developed from the familiar row houses on

each of the streets. The countless variety of additions, partial demolitions and constructions since Jewish settlement in the early 20th century has created a concentration of buildings and spaces that together form a special eclectic aesthetic. Also, the permanent additions of brick were built mostly from the 1910s to the 1930s, when the Jewish Market was at its height.

Figure 16 176 Baldwin Street

176 Baldwin street is a classic example of such vernacular architecture in Kensington Market. When European Meat Market arrived in Kensington Market in 1964, it occupied 178 Baldwin Street. Now it is composed of two old row houses, and the original site at 178 Baldwin is used as cutting and preparation room. Picture courtesy: Na Li, September, 2009

Most of the shops in the district have canopies and awnings stretching out over the narrow sidewalks. When the City threatened to remove them in the early 1980s, the neighborhood fought to retain these canopies and awnings as a defining feature of the market's character. Baldwin Street and Augusta Avenue, more so than Kensington Avenue, still have many canopies to shelter the produce being sold out in front of the shops. Another solution chosen by many shop owners was to convert the temporary canopy into a permanent though makeshift enclosed shelter for their shops. On Augusta Avenue, there are examples of the less permanent single-storey garage-like additions to

the houses. They are unheated and made of corrugated metal and pressboard. Some have remained structurally unchanged for thirty years.

If structures added to the buildings are the vernacular architecture of the Jewish phase, the vibrant colors of the buildings may be attributed to the Portuguese influence. Many of the storefronts and signs are painted in a variety of rich patterns and shapes.[70] Of course, the urban graffiti of the area, painted on almost every untouched building surface, adds to the vibrancy of the area. As a group of low-rise buildings with a mélange of ad hoc designs formed over the past century, the district reflects a special commercial vernacular architecture that does not conform to the urban architecture outside of the district. The design of each shop also changes with the store ownership, to express a particular cultural tradition. However, with this dynamic of change in mind, the overall massing, scale and architectural style of the modified late 19th century houses are retained, despite surface treatments and some buildings being replaced.

Figure 17 Graffiti on the North Wall of 52 & 54 Kensington Avenue

The colorful graffiti on the north wall, leading to a small laneway, to 52 and 54 Kensington Avenue: According to Doug Taylor, this type of art was created thought the use of spray cans of paint with

no brush work, but small details were accomplished by holding the can closer to the wall. Photo courtesy: Na Li, September, 2009

Figure 18 Graffiti on the South Wall of 190 Augusta Avenue

This is south wall of 190 Augusta Avenue. Such graffiti add a distinct vibrancy to the street, and also reflect some Portugal influence. Photo courtesy: Na Li, January 21, 2010

Related to design is the *material*, defined as the sense of locality conveyed through the use of similar or dissimilar materials or techniques in an area. Kensington Market has a somewhat dilapidated appearance in terms of materials and construction. Corrugated metal panels, pressboard, plywood, grates, metal grills, even recycled window frames are common throughout the district.

Figure 19 Corner of Baldwin Street and Augusta Avenue

The owner of Casa Acoreana came from the Azores, Portugal. Though a sort of dilapidated outlook, this small cafe offers a sweet spot for reminiscence. Many old folks sit there watching over the bustling Kensington Market, with the same good coffee every day. Photo courtesy: Na Li, January 27, 2010.

However, many of the early additions to the brick Victorian row houses were built using a similar brick, notably on the buildings along Kensington Avenue and Baldwin Street. In most cases the additions were later painted in bright colors and covered with large signs. More makeshift awnings and enclosures, as seen on Augusta Avenue, were built using a variety of building materials. The assortment of materials for enclosing each of the shop fronts and the patchwork construction is evident on all of the streets in the area. These patchwork add-ons appear only within the district and largely distinguish it from the shops along Spadina. (HSMBC Report)

Toronto' Lower East Side

Historic significance not only addresses but goes beyond materiality. Another two attributes, *use* and *associations*, concern a deeper issue of social equity. *Use* refers to a sense of cohesiveness based upon an activity common to many or all of the buildings.

Most of the buildings in Kensington Market support, either directly or indirectly, the market function. *Association,* the links between a district and the historical theme(s) or event(s) for which the district is significant changes with the use. The principal historical themes associated with Kensington Market are immigration and the experience of ethno-cultural immigrant life in urban Canada. Kensington Market has been home to more than twenty different cultural communities. In the early years of the Market, when it was largely Jewish, few Gentiles lived in the area. By the 1930s, a few Italians and Eastern Europeans had located there. The Sanci family, who moved into Kensington Market in 1937 (after establishing the family business in 1914 in the Ward), were the first Italians on Kensington Avenue to open a fruit store. After the Second World War, Eastern European, Portuguese, Afro-Caribbean, Chinese and Vietnamese immigrants came to live in Kensington Market. Each successive wave of immigrants has moved through the neighborhood and made a mark on Kensington's sense of place and its recent morphology.

Yet another less uplifting facet is left silent. Kensington Market started as place of enabling, or survival. Peddlers and food carts were viable professions, as Steven Speisman vividly portrays, "peddling, tinkering and hawking were the best chance the immigrants had of breaking from the grinding poverty or routine and heavy work." (Speisman, 1979: 72) With very few options to free themselves from the lowest class of employment, many Jewish immigrants found wok in the garment industry with the T. Eaton Company. During the 1920s and 1930s, around 60,000 Jews lived around Kensington Market, worshipping at over thirty local synagogues (Speisman, 1979). Like other immigrants, they received inadequate and less sanitary housing than in other parts

of the city unless they became homeowners. (see interior of Jewish immigrant home (Harney and Troper, 1975: 33) Worse, lack of experience or pure fear to seek redress for housing problems make them extremely supine victims for speculators. Since the value of the land was out of proportion to the rent, the landlords were not interested in the appearance or sanitary condition of the residence. Probably the worst were the plumbing and sewerage systems. Rear houses were usually side by side with privies, box closets, and drain closets. Windows could not be opened because of the stench. Alongside the dread situation in the one-roomed dwellings came the overcrowded lodgings, especially the cell-like boardinghouses. “In one case, 19 men slept in three rooms, and in another 7 men slept in a room seven by twelve.” (Bureau of Municipal Research (Toronto Ont.), 1918, Harney and Troper, 1975: 34) Similar to the tenements situation in New York at the turn of the 20th century (Riis and Museum of the City of New York., 1971), the origin of Kensington Market was inextricably linked with the issue of social equity. The choice was between preserving or demolishing a place similar to what urban reformers, such as Jacob Riis, Lawrence Veiller, John Ihlder, Ernest Bohn, Bleecker Marquette, from the late 19th century, described as “fetid, crowded, crime, stunted growth, tuberculosis, and other social problems”.[71]

City of Toronto Archives, Series 372, s0372_ss0032_it0313

Figure 20 Kensington Avenue, Rear, Miss Dyke's Home

Source: City of Toronto Archives

City of Toronto Archives, Series 372, s0372_ss0032_it0312

Figure 21 Kensington Avenue 1910, Mother and child after home birth.

Health Department Record, *Source:* City of Toronto Archives (series 32, # 312)

Figure 22 Corner of Spadina Avenue and Baldwin Street

The Market, known as the Jewish Market, in the early 1900s, when Jewish merchants moved into the area from the Ward, and it became permanently established by the 1930s. Even today, after waves of immigrants coming in and moving out, the Market keeps its original name, the Jewish Market (in Chinese), with Chinatown (in Chinese) underneath. Photo courtesy: Na Li, Jan 27, 2010

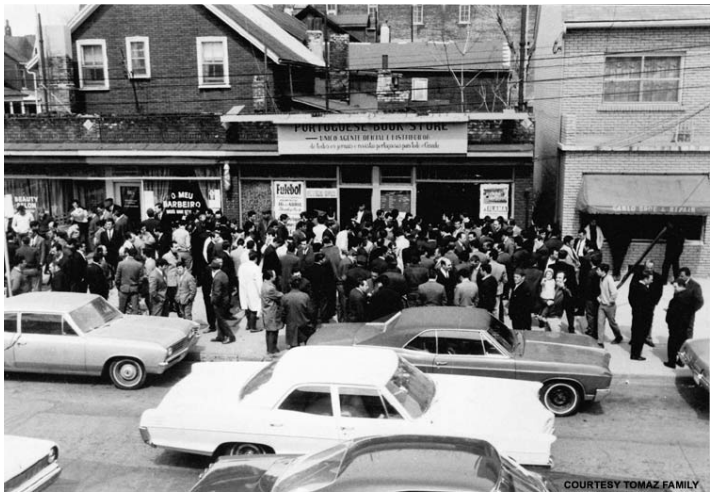


Figure 23 The Portuguese Book Store in the 1960s

The Portuguese Book Store imported books and newspapers, and it drew people to the corner of Nassau and Bellvue to listen to shortwave broadcasts of soccer games from home. It became a meeting place for Portuguese immigrants in the 1960s. Photo courtesy: Tomaz family

Figure 24 255 Augusta Avenue

The English & Chinese sign indicates Asian influence. Photo courtesy: Na Li, July 20, 2009.

Summary: Kensington -- an Urban Neighborhood, a Cultural Metaphor

Like many old urban neighborhoods, the combination of narrow streets, shops, restaurants, and an older residential housing stock created a dense and mixed-used area. The residential portion is dominated by attached housing and low-rise apartment buildings (Statistics Canada 1966). However, the concept of urban neighborhood merits some deliberation here: the planners' idea of neighborhood, according to Yi Fu Tuan, rarely coincides with that of the residents. (Tuan, 1974) He explains that "a district well defined by its physical characteristics and given a prominent name on the city plan may have no reality for the local people." (Tuan, 1974: 210) Recognizing this interpretive gap is of critical importance because it raises the fundamental question of most urban preservation practices: what is worth preserving at a particular time and place? [72]

Suzanne Keller describes the common elements that defined neighborhood as territory and inhabitants (Keller, 1968: 87-8). The distinctiveness of these areas stems from different sources whose independent contributions are difficult to assess: geographical boundaries, ethnic or cultural characteristics of the inhabitants, psychological unity among people who feel that they belong together, or concentrated use of an area's facilities for shopping, leisure, and learning. Keller analyzed the neighboring in an area, identifying the name or boundaries of an area, and use of area facilities, and concluded that those are not reliable guides to locating the presence of a functioning neighborhood. A sense of attachment, meaning a special feeling for a given place, a special sort of pride in living there, which transcends physical inconvenience or social undesirability, is a central aspect that is inadequately evaluated. "This attachment may be rooted in childhood experiences or family involvement with the area over a long period or in historical events endowing an area with a special meaning." (Keller, 1968: 108) Following this, I have interpreted Kensington Market as a cultural landscape, a *place*, where the built environment is socially produced.[73] Anthony D. King, the major proponent of the social history of built forms, says, "Buildings, indeed, the entire built environment, are essentially social and cultural products. Buildings result from social needs and accommodate a variety of functions – economic, social, political, religious and cultural. Their size, appearance, location and form are governed not simply by physical factors but by a society's ideas."[74] (King, 1984: 1) Carl Sauer's seminal interpretation of cultural landscapes, "an amalgam of physical and cultural forms: culture is the agent and the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape the result"(Sauer and Leighly, 1963: 343), still reverberates today.

If we trace the social history of Kensington Market, it has had always been a dynamic spot for immigrants. Kensington Market always has its own interior life. People of this neighborhood come from countries and areas where street life is a great part of daily living. Also, there is a natural tendency of newer Canadian groups to form tightly knit communities based on their home countries, from which people brought a wealth of worldly experience, and they tenaciously held on to their faith, language, diet, culture, and customs. Here the spirit of *survivance*, "an idea of cultural maintenance corresponding to the desire to preserve religion, language and customers"(Lane, 1990: 60), flourished, as Nadekeube Giguere observes: "They were not searching for a new way of life but for a better means of carrying out the old way of life."[75]

Historically, the influx of Jewish immigrants created a strong demand for shops that sold merchandise that had been available in Eastern Europeans, and offered personal services in the native tongue of the immigrants. The market provided an opportunity to start a business with relatively little capital investment. There was little control over the design of the non-residential district. So the first floors of many houses were converted to shops, and the upper floors retained as residences. "Jewish Europeans continue to be the predominant residential group until the 1950s. They remained the predominant business group in the market in the 1960s." (Rigby, 1975:34)

By 1941, and certainly by 1950, when the Jewish community slowly migrated to the north and west, the area became a virtual babble of diverse immigrant communities, including Portuguese, Ukrainians, Hungarians, and Italians. Then in the 1960s, Portuguese from the Azores became the area's dominant ethnic group (Barbara Myrvold, 1993: 15), followed in the 1970s and 1980s by an influx of Asian immigrants. The

immigrant cultures and new Canadian culture interacted. These interactions sometimes created tensions across cultural boundaries, but most often, they brought out multiple senses of place that reflected the pulsating energy of Kensington Market, and ultimately a comprehensive package of its interior lives.

This continuous energy, passing down through family businesses, reflects the principal historic theme associated with Kensington Market, i.e. immigration and the experience of ethno-cultural immigrant life in urban Canada. (Waldron, 2005:17)

CHAPTER 4

WHEN FAILURE IS SUCCESS: AN INTERPRETIVE POLICY ANALYSIS OF URBAN RENEWAL PLANNING IN KENSINGTON MARKET IN THE 1960S

Planning and policy analysis is not about demographics, or about zoning, or about management options. It is about creating equitable, desirable, and just future for the people with whom we plan, for the land and its creatures upon which we depend, and for the all the generations that follow.

ELISABETH M. HAMIN, *Mojave Lands: Interpretive Planning and the National Preserv*e

Introduction

The basic function of Kensington Market as a staging area for recent immigrants has continued since the arrival of the first wave of European Jews at the beginning of the 20th century. As the previous chapter described, Kensington Market has developed out of daily needs of a variety of immigrant groups, and acquired colors and flavors simply because the people living there invested their hearts and labor in the place. This unselfconscious place-making constitutes the very core of neighborhood character, and it renders the locale authentic, without architectural design or official planning. We can appreciate the genuine Kensington Market character by walking down the unorganized narrow streets, lined with non-conforming uses of shop-fronts, or with congested traffic and inadequate parking, or with cluttered backyards. What need is there for a plan for Kensington Market?

Despite the general understanding that the unique ambiance of open-air market is worth preserving, the community who has lived and shopped there changed over the years, and the human and land use problems pose various challenges:

- Increased congestion of merchandise, shoppers, and vehicular traffic
- Need for low cost housing: while the private housing market developed replacement housing or high rise apartment buildings for middle to upper income households, government intervention and assistance was required if some of the existing housing was to be preserved and rehabilitated, or replaced with housing which was within the reach of low income families. Some planning controls are required to protect future private and public investment.
- Expansion of institutional uses within the neighborhood, especially the conflict between competing functions, as demonstrated by expansion of the Toronto Western Hospital, expansion of the University of Toronto married students' residences, and expansion of the Provincial Institutes of Trades
- Social problems that include the need of a predominantly immigrant population to find work, accommodations, and adjust to a different social, political and cultural tradition. [76]

In the 1960s, a series of pivotal events epitomized a definite transformation of Kensington Market: the Spadina Expressway project, the Urban Renewal Program, and the expansion of institutional land use in the area. [77] Some of those events spilled over to the1970s and 1980s. Those forces represented conflicting and cooperative interests that could have modified or commercialized, preserved or demolished Kensington Market.

Figure 25 Ambiance of a Street Market

Source: St. Stephen's Community House

In April 1961, the City Public Works Committee requested various city departments concerned with development, health, and safety to prepare a report on the cost and feasibility of creating a plan for Kensington Market. The Committee considered that the primary objective of any plan for Kensington Market, however, should be to retain and enhance the ambiance of a street market. (Toronto, 1967)

This chapter places Kensington Market under the historic microscope. Using interpretive policy analysis as the basic framework, it examines the urban renewal planning scheme in Kensington Market in the 1960s. The reasons for this urban renewal effort, in retrospect, are still relevant for Kensington Market today, and to a certain extent, for the city of Toronto in general. Based on an in-depth analysis, this article examines how the key stakeholders interacted, how the public was involved, and why well-intentioned efforts floundered. Furthermore, it provides a new approach that addresses the root causes.

Urban Renewal in the Canadian Context

From Slum Clearance to Urban Redevelopment to Urban Renewal

An understanding of urban renewal in the Canadian context will better situate the subsequent discussion on Kensington Market. In Canada, the term "urban renewal" was first formally used in 1964 Amendments to the *National Housing Act* (Part III). This change in the legislation appeared to offer great promise for the improvement of neighborhoods, though the provision of the widest possible spectrum of opportunities for change and development that had been provided since the *National Housing Act* which was passed in 1944. "The major feature of the new approach … was the broad opportunity provided to utilize every technique and to examine a variety of approaches to the improvement of old neighborhoods in downtown areas threatened by what was traditionally called 'blight' and 'slum' …" (Rose:ii)

The idea of urban renewal, nevertheless, began much earlier with an emphasis on slum clearance. With its justification rooted in medical analogies, the concept was both essential and acceptable at the time, specially the late 1930s. The Depression years brought a widespread recognition that the disabilities of those least able to cope with economic problems in our society were compounded by the physical and social inadequacy of the housing in which they resided, given the gross lack of amenities within their neighborhoods (Rose and University of Toronto. Centre for Urban and Community Studies., 1974: 21).

1935 saw Canada's first significant federal housing legislation, the *Dominion Housing Act*, which demonstrated that "individuals and families would benefit both

physically and emotionally from improved habitation". It was followed by 1944 Amendments to the *National Housing Act.* In the 1960s, Toronto, like other North American cities, experienced anxiety over the aging and shabby dwellings in the downtown core, and a desire to create open space as a sleek image of modernity. It paid little attention the lower-income working class people living in those areas. As a result, history was either wiped out or enshrined into museums or designated as historic districts. The consequence of urban renewal in many ways discounted humanity and disrupted memories.

Fall of the Modernist Planning

The 1960s also started to see rejection of modernist planning[78] in Toronto: destruction and replacement was not welcome in downtown Toronto (Sewell, 1993: 144-150). James Throgmorton traces the roots of modernist planning to the 17th and 18th Enlightenment followed by the subsequent rise of technocratic consciousness. The first modern planning effort in America was 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago: "Standing in stark contrast with its urban environs, the comprehensively planned and neo-classically designed landscape of this 'Great White City' seemed to demonstrate: planning could bring both order and beauty to congested and chaotic cities." (Throgmorton, 1996: 9)

Thinking about nature and society in this scientific way, planning was deemed and dominated by rationality. Rationality, as a paradigm,[79] has dominated planning since the 1950s. Systematic and rational approaches, largely derived from Faludi's substantive and procedure typology (Faludi, 1973, Yiftachel, 1989),[80] assume planning to be apolitical and technical. Rationality, be it pure or pragmatic, undergirds planning theories

and practices, as Alexander stated that, after systematic examination of different forms of rationality in planning (Mandelbaum, 1979, Alexander, 1984, Alexander, 2000),[81] "planning is rational and cannot be otherwise; irrational planning is an oxymoron." (Alexander, 2000: 52) Jane Jacobs writes in her landmark treatise *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, "Cities happened to be problems in organized complexity like the life sciences. They represent situations in which half of a dozen or even several dozen quantities are all varying simultaneously, an in subtly interconnected ways." (Jacobs, 1961: 433) Those "subtly interconnected ways" created the opportunity to re-focus on humanity in the city.

One of many prospects of the 1964 legislative move was to encourage public participation, i.e. residents' committees in the planning process through a formation of a local planning council, composed of ***a.*** representatives of the residents' association; ***b.*** representatives of local business; ***c.*** planners in charge of the area, ***d.*** any other representation of a relevant group. (Neumann *et al.,* 1973) This process of engaging the public confirmed that any "urban renewal scheme drawn up by planning authorities without consultation with the inhabitants of the area affected are likely to arouse considerable opposition." (p. xiv) Unlike public housing projects, urban renewal inevitably involves the acquisition, clearance, and redevelopment of all or part of existing built-up area, which may or may not include residential development (Rose and University of Toronto. Centre for Urban and Community Studies., 1974) .The major problem of urban renewal was that of meeting and eliminating obsolescent features of the urban community. A major objective of urban renewal, under this scheme, was to adjust those undesirable parts of the urban community so that they fit the needs of the present

and the future. At the most fundamental level, it became a preservation planning issue that required careful consideration of recent pasts and future development. The redevelopment of Kensington Market took place in this context. Kensington Market was one of the six areas in downtown Toronto that were slated for urban renewal, as the below map (figure 26) shows.

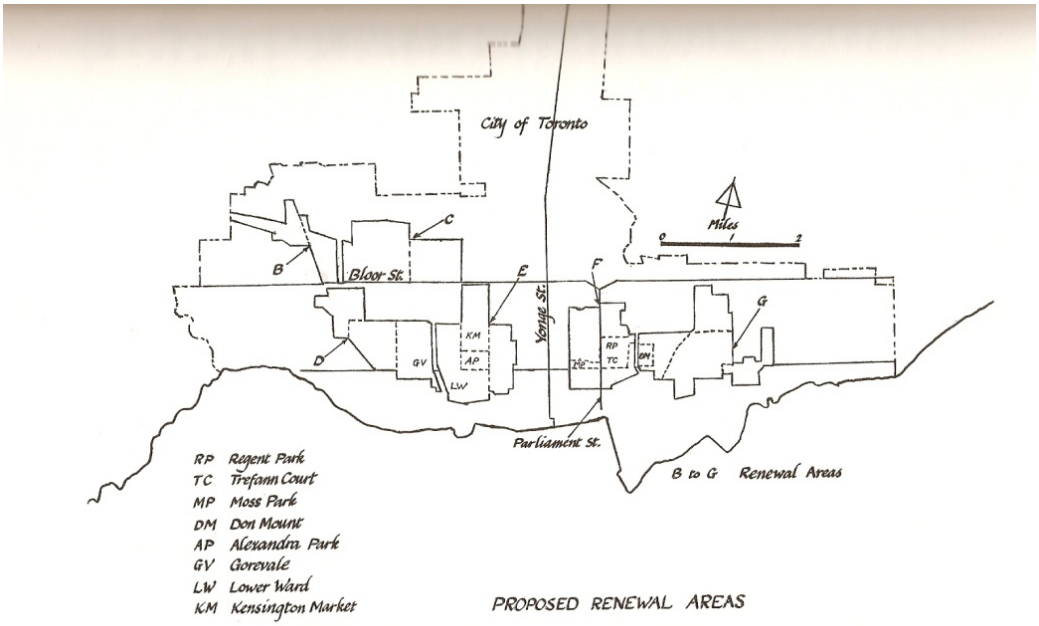


Figure 26 Six Proposed Urban Renewal Areas in Toronto

Source: (Neumann et al., 1973: 7)

Why Kensington Market was Different?

Kensington Market makes an interesting case from both urban planning and public history perspectives, because first, the neighborhood just happened; it was not planned. It has evolved, ever since its genesis as a Jewish place in the early 20th century, as a continuing Mecca for waves of ethnic immigrants, from Eastern Europeans to Italians to Portuguese to Jamaicans to South and Central Americans then to Asians. Each

immigrant group has brought with it a distinctive home culture, and tried tenaciously to keep it. The history of Kensington Market, therefore, belongs to people whose priority was survival instead of making the place architecturally pleasant.

Second, it is located in a community with a long history of activism. "City planners had been thinking about making it (Kensington) the object of an urban renewal plan since about 1957, but didn't actually do it until ten years later. Urban renewal in Toronto and elsewhere had sometimes been like a red rag to a bulldozer – an invitation to wholesale clearance. That was exactly what the people of Kensington didn't want." [82] The plan to raze Kensington market met with rancor and was shelved, but the prevailing mentality of mistrust of anything official remained. [83]

Third, the public played a different role in urban renewal. Compared with other proposed urban renewal areas in Toronto, the motives and process of participatory democracy worked more effectively in Kensington Market. The Trefann Court plan (shown in figure 26), for example, calling for the demolition of all residential buildings and the retention of the new infrastructure, was rejected by residents. The city council decided that any plan for the area had to be drawn up in consultation with local residents and businessmen. This brought home the idea that ordinary people could be involved in city planning. This approach values local experience and desires. Moreover, residents demanded, and obtained, the right to select the planner who would work with them in developing the new plan. In this way, planning became less an exercise in vision and adherence to theory, and more an opportunity to implement things that might work. The resulting plan was radically different from that produced by planners working on their own.[84] But the residents in Trefan Court believed that it was the politicians, not the

people in the area, who wanted renewal. To the politicians the houses were all slums; while the residents in Kensington Market actually hoped that through urban renewal, problems such as traffic congestion, sanitation, and parking, could be solved, and the spirit of community could be continued and preserved. Representations were also different in that, Trefan Court Residents Association were composed and led by local residents, but Kensington Residents Association were dominated by people with technical background or organization skills, or business owners – who had the skills required for community organization, and effective participation in planning. This raises the issue of representation and power struggles in public participation, that will be analyzed in detail later.

Urban Renewal Planning in Kensington Market in the 1960s

This interpretive analysis of the 1960s Urban Renewal Planning Scheme for Kensington Market uses a wide range of archival records, including planning board minutes, residents' association minutes, city directories, census data, and historic records. It focuses on public intervention, or participation, in the urban renewal planning, and examines three unsettled domains that are identified and interpreted. The core thesis is that failure of this urban renewal planning scheme was in fact success as far as the preservation of Kensington Market.

Scope and Purpose of the Urban Renewal Planning Scheme

Kensington Market was characterized by extensive patterns of incompatible land uses, and by many blighted or blighting non-residential sites. The major challenge was separation of residential and industrial land-uses.[85] The purpose of the Kensington Urban

Renewal Scheme was to improve the physical and environmental conditions of the area, to remove blighted and non-conforming uses, to promote the rehabilitation of structures which were to remain, and to develop the area in conformity to the intent and purposes of the *Official Plan for the City of Toronto*, the "Spadina Planning District Appraisal" and the "Improvement Programme for Residential Areas." (Board, 1966: 3) The following

map (figure 27) shows the boundaries of the area to be studied.

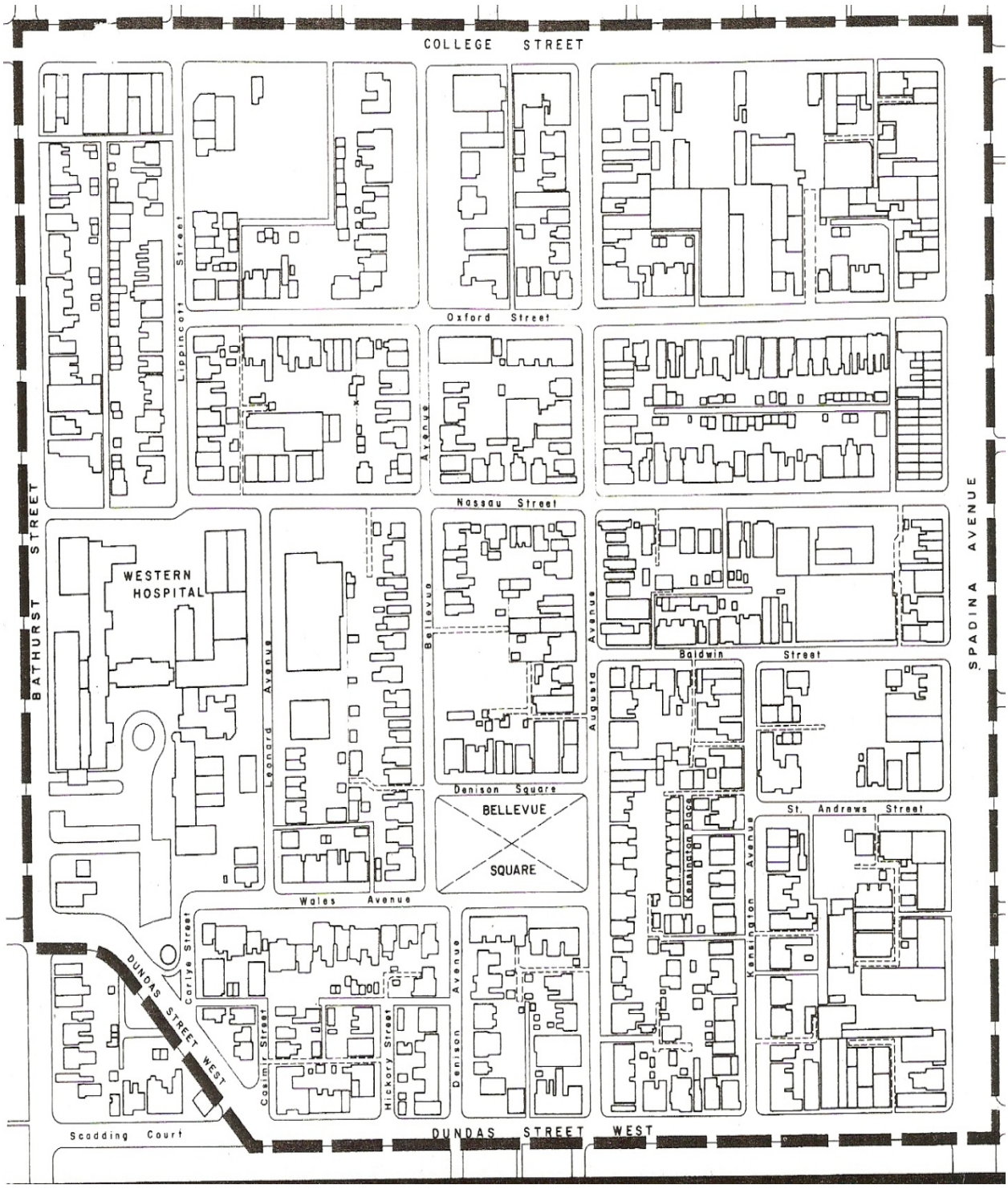


Figure 27 Boundary of the Area to be Studied

Source: City of Toronto Planning Board, April, 1967.

Milestones: Events, Stakeholders, and Progress Reports

Table 3 Milestones in Urban Renewal Planning in the 1960s

DATE	CITY ACTIVITIES	KENSINGTON ACTIVITIES
April 1961	City Public Works Committee asked various city departments concerned with development, health, and safety to prepare a report on the cost and feasibility of creating a plan for Kensington	
Nov. 1962	Kensington Market Plan approved by the City, the first stage of this plan was implemented in 1965 by providing two parking lots for the market (refer to attached Plan)	
1964	NHA Amendments, prospect of Federal and Provincial assistance available, for non-residential components of urban renewal schemes. The City decided that an urban renewal scheme should be prepared for the whole Kensington Area	
Jan. 1965	The "Improvement Programme for Residential Areas" completed	
March 1965	The "Improvement Programme for Residential Areas" adopted, indicating the Kensington is an area in need or renewal	
June 1965	Committee on Building and Development approved the preparation for a revised market plan, which would fit into a comprehensive urban renewal scheme for the whole Kensington area	
Nov. 1965	City passed a resolution approving Kensington as one of the next three areas to be undertaken for urban renewal	
June 1966	The City of Toronto Planning Board initiated an application for Federal and Provincial Approval and Assistance in the preparation of Kensington Urban Renewal Scheme	
Feb. 1967	City hired community workers to assist in initial survey	
May 1967	City planners held community meetings to explain purpose of renewal study and invite public participation	

Continued from the previous page

June 1967		KARA Ad-Hoc Committee formed
Sept. 1967		KARA formed, with first election of Executive Committee
Oct. 1967		KARA sponsored all-candidates meeting for provincial election
April 1968	City hired Mrs. Ramsay-Anttila, and two additional community workers for the renewal project	KARA submitted a brief to Board of Control, calling for joint politician-citizen co-operation in developing the project
June 1968		KARA developed a statement of planning objectives
Sept. 1968	City Council approved the formation of KURC	
Dec. 1968		Second annual KARA meeting
Feb. 1969		KARA developed draft planning proposals; KMBA generated a list of objectives of Kensington Market[86]
April 1969	City planning staff withdrew from project	
May-August 1969	KURC developed three planning documents[87]	
August 1969	Federal government announced financial freeze on further urban renewal project	
Oct. 1969	Board of Control confirmed Planning Board's decisions not to continue Kensington project	
Nov. 1969		Third KARA annual meeting
Dec. 1969	KURC was dissolved	
April 1970		KARA chairman resigned
July 1970		Last KARA meeting

Stakeholders, Issues and Problems

a. Professionals (planners and city officials: planning boards, urban renewal authority, housing authority, and conservation authority)

They played a *dual* role: a. they were advocates of community involvement, considered as valuable sources of information, technical skill and support; b. they were bureaucrats with delegated responsibility from the city government. (Board, 1955-1962, 1963-1968)

b. Kensington Area Residents Association (KARA) [88]

KARA was formed in September 1967 by homeowners, tenants, and businessman in the area bounded by College/Buthurst/Spadina/Dundas. Its primary purpose was to represent community interests in the urban renewal plan: "… to see a peaceful, orderly

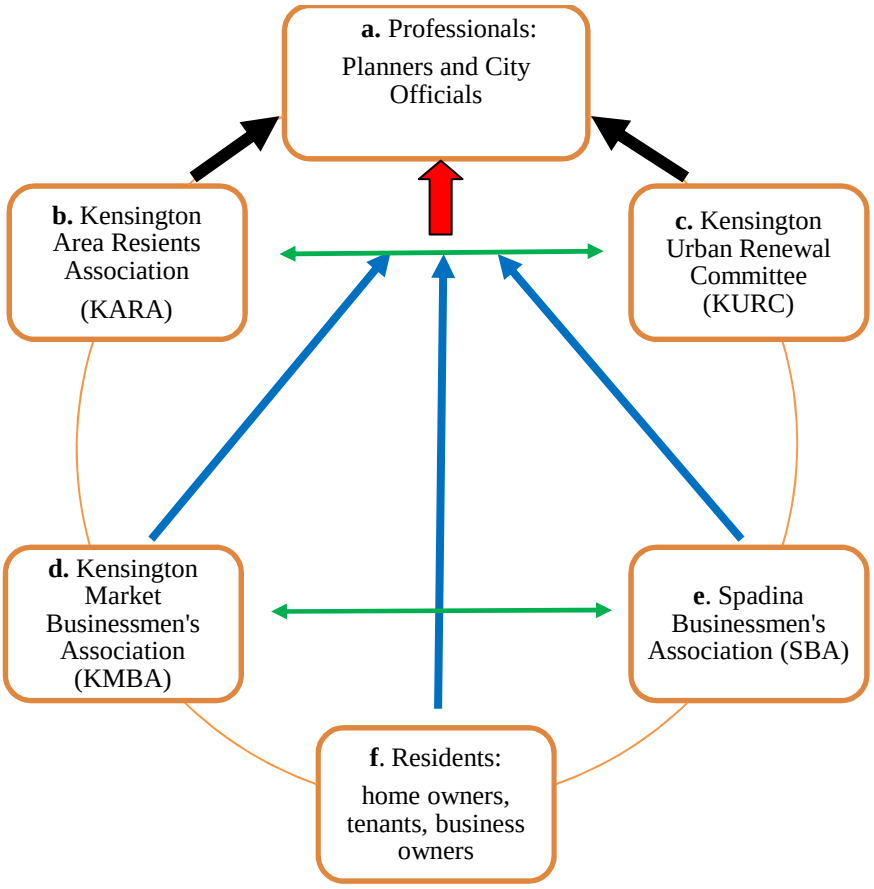


Figure 28 Stakeholders

transformation of its area under urban renewal with minimum disruption of its residential areas, and with a retention of the unique quality of Kensington Market."(Brown, 1968: 4)

KARA leadership worked to balance, to explain, to listen, and to facilitate, depending partly on how strongly views were held by the leadership and the community. Three groups of "significant others" emerged: residents, whose interests the leadership wanted to represent; real estate developers, who were seen as threatening to undermine community interests; and planners and politicians, who were responsible for administrating and approving the urban renewal program. KARA also served as the communicative interface with other stakeholders such as the Kensington Market Businessmen's Association, and Spadina Business Association. KARA recognized that urban renewal was a definite thing , but it worked only in a spirit of cooperation: this genuine willingness to co-operate appeared to be "a miracle". [89]

Up until 1968, KARA had achieved what it aimed for: co-coordinating the various ethnic commercial, residential and industrial ingredients of the community into a cohesive goal. For example, they saw the necessity to hire a full-time bilingual (Portuguese and English) community worker to educate Portuguese residents on the nature of, and their responsibilities and rights in urban renewal. They also worked hard on relieving the traffic and parking problems. [90]

c. Kensington Urban Renewal Committee (KURC)

KURC was approved by City Council in September 1968 at the call of various interest groups. By calling upon its elected representatives to recognize that renewal policies are a mutual responsibility, KARA wished to express its desire for co-operation with those in office, upon whose shoulders the onus of bitter conflict due to unacceptable solutions has fallen in the past. Responsibility of KURC included:

1) To unify the Community and promote better communication;

2) To become fully conversant with the problem in the urban renewal area by considering representations made by all interested groups and citizens;

3) To make the political decisions necessary for the planning and implementation of urban renewal in reference to the needs and desires of the people in the area and the City as a whole; to supervise the work of various City departments and staff to ensure that the "political" goals are achieved. [91]

d. Kensington Market Businessmen's Association (KMBA)

KMBA had been active to improve the Market since the 1950s. It insisted on developing its own set of planning objectives and reserved the right to take issue with any of the planning proposals developed by the Urban Renewal Committee. Its attitude toward urban renewal, as with other Market related issues, seemed practical and determined, as reflected in the following KMBA minutes from J. Lottman, President of KMBA:

"To date, we have gone through a series of inspections and we have paid for parking lots which we cannot use. We have fulfilled our part of the bargain and all we have received in return is the vague promise of urban renewal. We know that our area has the highest accident rate in Toronto and so we met recently with the Police department, Fire department, and Board of Control to ask for immediate action on this traffic and parking problem. As yet we have heard nothing and nothing has been done. We seem to be up against a blank wall.

Therefore, we would like to make our position clear. We will not endorse or co-operate with any parties in the renewal of our area until the various government involved appoint a committee charged with making the decisions on the renewal of Kensington. There is no point in our Association co-operating further until there is a definite body charged with responsibility of improving this area; a body with which we can co-operated and to which we can present our ideas and grievances."[92] (Brown, 1968, Association, 1973-1980)

e. Spadina Businessmen's Association (SBA)

SBA was formed to fight against the proposed Spadina Expressway, but at a broader scale, SBA realized there was a growing concern that as businessmen, they would be facing extinction or at least harm as "owners and landlords, they may suffer great loss of prosperity by the construction and completion of the Spadina Expressway."[93] Due to the proximity of Kensington Market and Spadina Avenue, SBA was also involved to represent the business owners' interests in the Market area.

f. Local residents: homeowners, tenants, and business owners.

In Chapter Three, I have described the ethno-cultural change of Kensington Market since the early 20th century. Most ethnic and cultural groups arriving in Kensington Market chose the cultural representations based on home countries, and when their commitment to the public initiatives such as urban renewal planning was also based on such interests. So, though all three sub-categories, i.e. homeowners, tenants, and business owners, belonged to the grass-roots level, they had internal conflicts of interests.

For example, homeowners and tenants, understandably, focused on social and ethnic issues, while business owners on the spatial and physical improvement of the area for better profits. As in most part, the actual market was residential as well, thus their interests overlapped.

Intervention: Public Participation[94]

The key stakeholders were united under an ambitious goal, i.e. to retain the Kensington character, through public participation. The locally well-known *Grossman's Commitment* on October 12, 1967, emphatically stated this goal: *"The Ontario Government will not participate in any future urban renewal project unless, in the initial stages, an urban renewal committee is established, on which there will be representation of the residents of that area in which an urban renewal scheme is contemplated… this urban renewal committee will provide the vehicle through which the residents will present their plans for conservation, rehabilitation or redevelopment, which they believe will best suit the needs of the area in which they reside."*

Mr. Grossman went on to define this in his own words:

"That means, in simple terms, that you are going to have a great deal to say about how your own district is going to be developed. The Ontario government is going to refuse to participate in any kind of urban redevelopment until it is satisfied that the people in the district not only know what's going on but that they will be represented on the committee which makes the decisions and that they will be in agreement with it… " [95]

Allan Grossman's commitment represented the spirit of Federal Urban Renewal legislations, i.e. involving a wide spectrum of public, and at the same time, reinforced

Mayor William Dennison's position made in May, 1967, who called for the formation of a group such as KARA to actively participate in urban renewal planning. This was a momentous step, compared with earlier nominal calls for public voices, towards a more sophisticated participation in an urban democracy.[96] Three unsettled domains proved as sources of unresolved conflicts, which led to the failure of a well-intentioned urban renewal planning in the 1960s, and the possible impact on a series of redevelopment in Kensington Market afterwards.

- Consensus Building: An Impossible Goal
- Power & Presentation Myth
- Language and Cultural Implications in Participation

Consensus Building: Is It Possible, After All?

There seemed no difficulty for the key stakeholders to reach a consensus -- "the existing community (should) be retained and strengthened",[97] and "Kensington Market should be preserved and improved".[98] The objective dovetailed with the 1962 Market Study that the primary objective of any plan for the Kensington should be to retain and enhance its present atmosphere of a street market. However, when this broad objective broke down, two fundamental issues emerged: first, what was urban renewal? Second, what was the special character the Kensington?

- *Understanding of Urban Renewal*

In Kensington Market, the goal of urban renewal, including the social impact of the sophisticated renewal schemes sprinkled with planning jargon, was never been fully explained and effectively delivered to those most directly affected. For planners, urban

renewal generally meant redevelopment, an effective means to solve the area's physical, health and social problems. For some local residents, especially property owners and tenants, it meant renovation or demolition of housing, or to put it simply, a threat to their lives. In Ontario, *The Planning Act* stipulated that "planning boards must divulge their plans holding public meetings in particular neighborhoods in the community" (Rose and University of Toronto. Centre for Urban and Community Studies., 1974: 5) but it did not specify *how* to involve the public. Based on a survey (table 4) done by Douglas W. Rigby in the 1970s, half of the residents had no knowledge at all. The survey also suggested that the property owner compensation would be inadequate in the event of their property being subject to compulsory purchase, and the tenants feared that alternative accommodation of a suitable kind in a convenience locality at a price they can afford will not be available. Therefore, the expected minimum level of sharing understanding premised in public participation was not as valid as it seemed.

Table 4 Understanding of Urban Renewal

Source: Rigby, D.W. 1975[99]

Urban renewal defined in terms of:	Tenants	Homeowners	Total
	------- number -------		
Renovation of housing	3	4	7
Demolition of housing	15	13	28
No knowledge of concept	7	8	15
	25	25	50

Moreover, a commitment to understanding did not necessarily entail consensus or even the potential for consensus. In 1969, Mr. Antonio De. Freitas, resident 102 Oxford Street, discussed his fear for urban renewal with M.D.Woods from Kensington Site

Office. On February 27, 1969, Mr. Woods summarized their discussion in the following communication (emphasis added by Na Li), which reflected how block meetings, a general planning strategy, failed to involve the public (Board, May 1, 1969).

Mr. De. Freitas spent some time last night explaining to me the fears held by Portuguese in the area and outside the area. He spoke of a friend of his whose house was expropriated four or five years ago for the Bellevue Parking Lot and was only given $ 500 more than he paid for the house. He said that this act of expropriation had seriously reduced the confidence of Portuguese people in the Kensington area. … he said that friends had warned him that if he went to any block meetings he would end up losing his home because that had followed from their own block meetings. ***A conclusion I drew from the meeting was that a meeting called by the Planning Board to explain plans might inadvertently result in weakening the residents' confidence in their own area.***

- *Understanding of Neighborhood Character/Special Identity*

Another taken-for-granted issue is neighborhood character, sometimes called special identity, a rather loaded term. Politicians favored certain planning concepts, such as pedestrian malls, expanded institutional use, more parking space, or worse, total clearance. The proposed solutions based on this perspective came as no surprise. The planners proposed to construct a multi-storey distribution center. They recommended that the centre be located on the periphery of the Market and the Kensington area in order to reduce vehicular traffic. Merchandise would be stored or moved to and from individual shops by hand-operated carts. The centre would permit some of the market streets to be closed and developed as a pedestrian mall, without having to open back lanes. The latter

would have required the demolition of adjacent houses. Parking facilities would be included in order to meet the need for parking space. Finally the centre would include space for the relocation of noxious but valued market businesses such as fish processing.

For residents, it meant home, where they invested hearts and labor. KARA, as resident representative, expressed a strong community focus in *Background Notes for List of Revised Objectives for the Kensington Urban Renewal Scheme* in 1968, stating , "Urban renewal should [be] not merely bricks and bulldozers but primarily the revitalizing of the community. It should focus the community in on itself and help that community to know and serve itself more effectively and open out responsibly for the total community." [100] KARA also analyzed two main lines of thought in *Background Notes*: "The first is that the individuals who make up the community should benefit from the improvements available under urban renewal and the second is that the spirit of community be strengthened by the process of organization and responsibility for the urban renewal scheme in the area."

One of the key aspects of neighborhood identity is its visual character. Most residents wanted the Market to be preserved and improved and that the best visual characteristics of the total area preserved and restored. This objective, interpreted by KARA, meant "that the market's community service must be continued while ways to reduced the problems associated with the market are developed… indicates the community's desire to identify and protect the best visual characteristics of the are and to restore the parts of the area which have deteriorated and to ensure that new development enhances the visual appearance of the area." [101] The heart of this observation was that

residents had a real and personal connection with Kensington Market, where they were building personal and community history.

While the planners recognized the attractiveness of the Market, but from a primarily professional standpoint, “The market is a lively and interesting place…. the present trend of improvements to the commercial buildings of the market is indicative of the merchants' interest which will, no doubt, be further encouraged by the participation of public agencies in a renewal scheme.” Furthermore, “Some of the residential streets have a pleasant scale, particularly the group of buildings around Bellevue square; the domes and towers of the synagogues; the fire tower and the old St. Stephens Church are value visual assets which help to give the area an identity” (Board, June 1966: 5). But what was let slip? The vernacular structures, especially ordinary residences with little architectural significance matched planners’ “pleasant scale”. What residents deemed historic or significant, will be explored more in next chapter. Also, even when planners religiously follow certain procedures to involve publics, they may not arrive at consensus, partly because emotional sensitivity, working “as a source of knowledge and recognition, as well as a moral vision” (Forester, 1999), is sometimes undervalued, as the different interpretations of “neighborhood character” demonstrated earlier. Further beneath the veneer of the formalities of planning activities lies how power is exercised. The claim Michael Newman makes that consensus processes are practiced *outside* established institutional structures and, as such, are unconnected to power relations may seem too harsh, but he certainly is right in recognizing that communicative planners have ignored the importance of this institutional practice, thus they at best produce a “thin” consensus that is quite fragile if not merely coopting (Neuman, 2000). How was the decision-

making power exercised, and by who, in Kensington Market? To address those two questions, I will plumb the power and presentation, which I believe, both create sort of myth in public participation.

Power and Representation: Myth of Public Participation

This part of the analysis will focus on the interactions between and among the professionals (planners and city officials), elected representatives (KURC, KARA, KMBA, KSB), and residents (homeowners, tenants, and business owners).

- *Professionals (Planners and City Officials) with KARA*

KARA has long realized a "growing gap between the sympathy of the politicians and the bureaucratic action (or inaction) of some appointed public officials, which has resulted in bitterness and distrust… attitudes and actions of such public officials result in a policy of continual discouragement of citizen's groups like KARA from responsible participation in the basic workings of democratic government."[102] This fissure was caused partly by the nature of urban renewal planning discussed earlier. As residents' representative, KARA expressed the residents' belief that the success of urban renewal was in direct proportion to the degree of responsible involvement of the members of the community and its elected representatives. Together they must direct the technicians in the planning and implementation of joint goals.

Unfortunately, both parties felt that urban renewal planning came to engender hostility between people and the government in an area where sincere co-operation could easily bring about solutions to mutual problems. The process of responsibility-sharing became finger-pointing. KARA complained that members of city council and other

elected bodies were misled by, or abdicated responsibility to, officials who could not communicate with or encourage those concerned (in the affected area) to take on a share of the responsibilities which so directly affected the life of their community ((K.A.R.A.), June 10th, 1968).

- *Professionals (Planners and City Officials) with KMBA*

The conflicts focused on the issue of traffic. To relieve traffic congestion, the Committee on Public Works suggested that, "the market character of this area is such that, in order to relieve traffic congestion, it is essential that a proper system of lanes be established to provide direct service access to the rear of all commercial premises and stores in conjunction with adequate off-street parking facilities. "… widening the existing private lanes: the proposed parking lot is not conveniently enough located to the stores to encourage the merchants to make sue of its facilities during normal working hours, at which time traffic movements in the area are at a maximum. The private lanes which adjoin the proposed parking lot are not presently of insufficient width to provide direct vehicular access for loading and deliveries to the rear of the Augusta Avenue and Baldwin street properties. Unless the private right-of-ways are widened and these structures altered and/or removed to provide convenience access from the parking lot to the rear of all commercial premises substantial benefit will not be realized." [103]

Regarding the adequate right-of-way for temporary rear service lanes to the Baldwin Street and Augusta Avenue properties, the response from KMBA was decidedly uncooperative. Seven out of fourteen properties on Baldwin Street disagree with the proposal. The private and municipal interests clashed. J. Lottman, President of KMBA,

said in a letter in April 1966, “we feel that the lane improvement would be of value, and we appreciate the effort of your department in trying to help our situation, but we feel that either the alternative plan proposed by Mr. Fryer of the City of Toronto Development Department, January 1966, or the original proposal by the City of Toronto Planning Board in 1962, would be of more value to the Market.” However, this seemed more of a pretext than a logical rebut. Only Stage 1 of 1962 Plan (Appendix 1 & 2) was implemented with the provision of two off-street parking lots. The property owners apportioned $ 165,400 out of total cost $ 430,000, and Parking Authority of Toronto paid $ 264,400. The remaining three stages of this plan were aborted due to lack to financial supports from property owners. As the Market area being part of the Urban Renewal Scheme, the conflict of mostly financial interests hampered the genuine dialogues between professionals and KMBA.

- *Professionals (Planners and City Officials) with KURA*

The turning point of the relations between the KURC and the Planning Board came in April, 1969.[104] In a letter to the committee, the planning director requested clarification on no fewer than twenty-four questions. Two of them represent the conflicting community interests and questioned the committee’s ability to resolve them, “One of the objectives is that the ‘existing community be preserved and enhanced’. Which of the many and sometimes conflicting aspects of the community does the committee wish to see strengthened? How does the committee wish to evolve the process of compromise and communication between sections of the community? Can the Kensington Urban Renewal Committee provide a forum for the compromising and understanding which is necessary?” Improvement in and preservation of the economic

and social fabric of the Kensington was more essential to the area than new buildings, and streets, which require further political action by governments and citizens undertaking joint responsibility for the development of programs and their implementations. Planners and residents of Kensington Market had developed a long acrimonious relationship: the planning process required rezoning and demolition or retrofitting of existing building before alternative uses could be applied in the first place. A prime example of one of them occurred when the Government asked people in renewal areas to resolve among themselves *all* the conflicting interests of parties in their areas before a proposal would be considered, while, at the same time, all levels of governments involved in renewal continuously demonstrated their inability to work constructively with each other, let alone resolve area conflicts and problems (Committee, July 3rd, 1969). The language grew ever shriller, but were the expectations realistic? How could the "conflicting interests of the parties" be resolved among themselves?

KURC passed a motion at a meeting on Thursday, April 24, 1969, to be adopted as Part II of the Official Plan for the City of Toronto, as it applies to the Kensington area. This motion consisted of 11 points concerning such matters as the role of KURC in the implementation program, proposals for City Council action to encourage rehabilitation, public works and the development of certain under-used area. This proposal was a matter to be settled solely between the City and the Urban Renewal Committee, but the result was that such policies were not incorporated in the Official Plan. The tone from the Government was more than discouraging. The Government further criticized that KURC had not completely understood the role of the Senior Governments in the urban renewal process. "References to the 'partnership' in one place and the "partnership and CMHC"

in another indicate this... a limited dividend company, including representatives from the partnership, the community, etc. should own and operate such development. I feel that this would be a tremendously complicated and cumbersome arrangement for handling the day to day operation of any development. I cannot see how this could function efficiently." (J.F. Brown, August 8, 1969)

Here we find that KURA, as residents' representative, did not have sufficient bargaining power in the actual decision-making process, and participation at different levels did not guarantee against subsequent political conflicts or ensure implementation of the proposed plans. It may, in fact, have produced a more sophisticated sense of the trade-offs between competing value and the relationships among the goals and policies…a breakdown in public participation, "like eating spinach"(Arnstein, 1969) and decision-making: neither straightforward nor inevitable. If such vital links do not exist, public participation becomes mere rhetoric.

- *KURA and KARA*

The relationship between KURA and KARA, both supposedly represent residents' interests. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the basic objective of establishing KURC was to "unify the Community and to ensure that the various problems associated with such an undertaking do not split the community into various fractions". To make KURC as representative as possible, the City discouraged, in a gentlemanly manner, KARA executive members serving on KURC, concerned that "the appointment of too many KARA executive members impairs the continuing function of KARA in dealing with the many serious social and health problems of the community served by the Association. It

is in fact intended that these social and health problem areas will become the main work of KARA when the Urban Renewal Committee is established."[105] This concern, I believe, indicated two things, first, the changing function of KARA, and second, a possible interest-of-conflict in representation.

KURA replaced KARA to become the residents' voice in this urban renewal planning process. "Since there are a number of different interest groups within the Kensington area, we have asked each to convene a meeting to nominate a person or persons to sit on the Urban Renewal Committee. All the various groups realize that the person or persons so nominated must act in the interests of the total area and not simply as a spokesman for his or her special interest groups."[106] But, various organizations and groups continued to function on behalf of their members by representing those special interests directly to the KURC. In trying to function as representatives of both general and specific interests, both interests were either poorly represented or misrepresented.

If the link between KURC and various interest groups was not as strong as it claimed to be, another vital link between KARA and residents ran a similar risk. In fact, KARA inadequately represented local residents. Ideally, "the chosen representatives of the people, can institute a dialogue – a two-way conversation, with an representative group – quite capable of assisting in the planning and implementation of a fruitful urban renewal scheme." (Brown, 1968) The expectation of a dialogic democracy was well expressed, yet this expectation failed on two fronts. First, in Kensington Market, effective participation in the urban renewal project required planning, political, and organization skills, but the KARA leaders brought to their task special training and experience which

were not characteristic of the majority of the residential population. The statistics confirmed this observation (table 5).

Table 5 Individual vs. Institutional Representation

Source: Rigby, D.W. 1975

	Number	Percent
Individual Representation		
Homeowners	24	64
Tenants	1	3
Businessmen	3	8
"Other" Property Owners	1	3
Subtotal	29	78
Group or Institutional Representation		
Cultural & Recreational Groups	3	8
Institutions	4	11
Businessmen's Associations	1	3
Subtotal	8	22
Total	37	100

Second, there was a significant difference between the residential population and the leadership in knowledge of planning, planning process, willingness to participate. As Rigby points out, “the experience of many of the immigrant residents with the government of the old country had not prepared them for the form of participatory democracy on which neighborhood involvement in planning is based.” (Rigby, 1975: 70) How powers are exercised and by whom pose an obstacle to the promise of achieving public good through participation. As I described earlier, planners played a dual role in Kensington Market project, as both voices for the community and bureaucrats with delegated responsibility from the city government. This interplay manifests as a major paradox when planners claim to serve the public interest, individual freedom and social

justice. On the one hand, the authority of planners' advice rests with expert individual knowledge, yet on the other hand, public participation requires effective leadership, but quite often, the leadership of residents groups lacks knowledge and skills, so it depends on the most knowledgeable or powerful professionals, i.e. planners. This redistribution of power, if not checked or balanced, can aggravate conflicts of interests, and render participation a public ceremony.

Language and Cultural Implications

The last issue concerns language, cultural, and emotional sensitivity in public participation. It seems unfair to fault the 1960s planners and politicians for not including those sophisticated "feelings" in the urban renewal, but retrospection from almost a half century after the urban renewal planning in Kensington Market indicates those implications that remain qualitatively relevant today.

Understanding Kensington Market as a cultural and ethnic mosaic is also a process of understanding Toronto as a cosmopolitan city. Toronto's social history has been inextricably evolved with its immigration policy since the World War II, when Toronto started to transform from "a comfortable but stodgy outpost of Anglo-Celtic hegemony" to a place that 'holds the promise and fascination in lands of emigration." (Harney and Multicultural History Society of Ontario., 1981: 1) Robert Harney digs beneath this celebrated cosmopolitanism, and argues that a city dependent on the immigrant generation alone for its cosmopolitanism runs a number of risks. There is the danger that variety will be transient, that although the "outlandish ways" of the newcomer will be tolerated for a generation, beyond that generation yawns a hungry melting pot… there is too the danger that an "interesting" neighborhood for the city walker is in fact a

trip and a ghetto for those who live in it, that a settlement exits because of its proximity to sweated industry or housing. There is, therefore, the question of whether multiculturalism, the tolerance of separate ethnic enclaves, may be making virtue of vice (p. 3-4).

Public participation in Kensington Market in the 1960s did not consider, much less address, the different cultural traditions that immigrants brought from their country of origin. These cultural differences branch out into *motives* for and *styles* of participation, which is essentially a communicative action. First, many residents in Kensington Market came from cultures in which public participation was frowned upon, and block meetings unheard of. Or they had not fully adjusted to participatory democracy in their second or third homes. Related to this is the communicative style. The possibility of complete self-knowledge, reflexivity, clarity, and transparency of oneself and others, as well as the consequent achievement of collective autonomy, is problematic. The situatedness and embeddedness of human life in history, custom, and contradiction create conditions that are beyond complete comprehension, that are contingent and beyond individual or collective will, and that do not allow for the attainment of individual or collective self-transparency. When Jews gradually moved from the Ward to Kensington Market around the 1920s, an era marked by considerable liberalism, social, change, and optimism, Kensington Market became a place that challenges “normative social change”

The chart (figure 28) shown earlier in this chapter, (illustrating the gap between KARA and residents of Kensington Market) shows that fluency in English among residents is less than 50 percent, with 36 percent with little or no ability to speak English. This disadvantaged the residents even before actual participation started. How could they participate actively within a framework of decision making and planning used by those

who held positions of higher social and economic status, as well as by representatives of community foundations. In some sense, because collaborative members drew from different "cultural stock[s] of knowledge," the possibilities for communicative action were complicated; there were fundamental differences of expectation and of "individual skills—the intuitive knowledge of how to deal with a situation—and of customary social practices—the intuitive knowledge of what one can count on in a situation."(Chaskin, 2005: 414) KURC's later effort (in 1967) to hire Mrs. Ramsay-Anttila, a Portuguese-speaking community worker, along with other two community workers, proved to be a great step to involved the growing Portuguese group.

Conclusion: Failure or Success? And for Whom?

The urban renewal planning in Kensington Market ended in 1970, after the Federal government announced a financial freeze on further urban renewal projects and the Board of Control confirmed the Planning Board's decision not to continue Kensington Market project in 1969. The failure to implement what was studied, discussed, and planned over almost a decade, in retrospect, became a success for residents living in Kensington Market. The first objective listed in the Urban Renewal Scheme, that an existing community should be retained and strengthened, was actually met by not implementing the proposed plan at the time.

The almost identical sources of conflicts, i.e. understanding of urban renewal or redevelopment, neighborhood character and identity, culture and language issues, persisted in efforts of redevelopment and preservation of Kensington Market in the following decades: some were successful, yet others not. Even with the successful attempts, different stakeholders confronted those similar issues, and pubic participation

was an important phase that broke or made the planning initiatives. In the 1970s, planners proposed Kensington Market as a priority area for a federal government funding initiative – the Neighborhood Improvement Program (NIP) -- to improve community facilities. But when it came to the phase of involving the local community, the proposal met with opposition because this would be "yet another 'renewal scheme." [107] The initiative was finally approved and implemented, but only after lengthy discussions. Then in the 1980s, planners again raised the Kensington Revitalization Plan.

In 2006, Kensington Market was designated as a National Historic Site of Canada. The designation met with rather mixed responses from the local residents, who focused mainly on the Market future, because two months before Parks Canada announced this elevation to the landmark status, the federal government killed a $30 million program giving developers across Canada financial incentives to rehabilitate historic commercial buildings. The official designation did not minimize the gap between the professional and the local residents. Quite the contrary, the historic designation invited the influx of chain stores or condo towers that, according to residents, may eventually destroy the spirit of Kensington Market, "the spirit of independence and ingenuity that help this neighborhood thrive, the dream that drew so many oppressed people and the sense of freedom and camaraderie that made it home regardless of language, culture or financial statues."[108] The next chapter will further explore this spirit.

Solutions to the Unsettled Issues in Kensington Market

In Chapter 2 I responded the limitations in traditional preservation planning by suggesting a culturally sensitive narrative approach (CSNA), which seeks to re-interpret the authority of urban space. I also suggested the preservation planners move towards storytelling as a kind of narrative, to solicit and elicit insiders' views and emotions. This historic analysis of urban renewal planning, especially public participation, in Kensington Market convinced me, belatedly but still hopefully, that CSNA could point urban preservation in a positive direction.

The root cause for the failed urban renewal scheme in Kensington lies in a rather old fact: cultural and emotional sensitivity work as sources of knowledge, and can further be transmuted into power (Nussbaum, 1990: 79).[109] In his classic *Advice and Planning*, Martin Krieger remarks that plans are works of art and artifice and experimentation, and that they share literary and analytic virtues. Advice is expressed in reasonable and justifiable stories, and planners can become more effective storytellers by mastering narrative forms, suitable character of development, and effective stylistic devices (Krieger, 1981). MacLintyre also claims that man is "essentially a story-telling animal … a teller of stories aspire to truth"(MacIntyre, 1981: 216) .We humans engage in "enacted narratives" that have beginnings, middles, and ends; that embody reversals and recognitions; that move toward and ways from climaxes; and that might contain digressions and subplots. More, to understand what other people are doing, we have to place their action into a context of narrative history, then "the act of utterance becomes intelligible by finding its place in narrative" (MacIntyre, 1981).

Both Thomas Kaplan and Martin Krieger have suggested the importance of stories and the telling of stories in policymaking (Krieger, 1981, Kaplan, 1986). Kaplan also argues that narratives and appeals to narratives can, do, and should play an important role specifically in policy analysis, but they come only in addition to and not instead of the conventional practices of policy analysis. Roe moves along further by recognizing that the ability to tell one's own story ultimately becomes an issue of empowerment (Roe, 1989). This a much more sophisticated grasp of the role of narrative, and may help solve the power issues identified in the previous policy analysis. His contentions that policy analysis should be broadened to include systematic ways of analyzing storytelling, that stories are essential in policy analysis, and that some form of narrative analysis should be available to practitioners, remain nevertheless vague. Phrased in different ways, they all emphasize the humanities in policy analysis.

Similarly in planning, Throgmorton contends that planning is an enacted and future-oriented narrative in which the participants are both characters and joint authors. He suggests that planning is a form of persuasive storytelling and can be likened to good fiction. Planners can be regarded as authors who write texts (plans, analyses, articles) that reflect awareness of differing or opposing views and then can be read and interpreted in diverse and often antagonistic ways. They are also characters whose forecasts, surveys, models, and so on, act as tropes (Throgmorton, 1996).[110] A crucial part of Throgmorton's argument is that this future-oriented storytelling is never simply persuasive. It is also *constitutive*. To add on his earlier argument that planning is a communicative action in the flow of persuasive argumentation, he claims that this interactive communicative activity (Fischer and Forester, 1993, Hoch and American Planning, 1994, Sager, 1994,

Innes, 1995) is also *skilled-voices-in-the-flow* (Throgmorton et al., 2000). They are the ways in which planners write, talk and shape community, character, and culture. So a critical question for planners is what ethical principles should guide and constrain their efforts to persuade audiences. In the similar vein, Mandelbaum argues that planners are writers, like academic historians, novelists, and advertising copywriters, guided by the expectations about who will read, and by the settings and modes of reading (Mandelbaum, 1990).

The richness of stories that threatens their generalizability enable them to show, to explain, and to connect as well; a point well recognized by Forester, as he advocates that planners tell and learn from practice stories (Forester, 1999). Stories convey the "emotional demands" and enrich planners' "emotional awareness and responsiveness."(Forester, 1999: 40) Sandercock also argues that stories have a special importance in planning that has neither been fully understood nor sufficiently valued (Sandercock, 2003). In order to imagine unrepresentable space, life and languages of the city, and to make them legible, we translate them into narratives. The way we narrate the city becomes constitutive of urban reality, affecting the choices we make, the ways we then might act. She summarizes that planning is performed through story,[111] in a myriad of ways: in process, as a catalyst for change, as a foundation, in policy, in pedagogy, in explanation and critique as well as justification of the status quo, and as moral exemplar (Sandercock, 2003).

CSNA builds upon the above rationale, but goes beyond the narratives. It emphasizes cultural and social memoires, the intangible of narratives, and suggests oral history interviewing as a critical component of planning urban landscapes, particularly

for places where the cultural diversity and community memories were accumulated unselfconsciously over the years, as in Kensington Market. To this end, the next chapter will turn.

CHAPTER 5

COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND KENSINGTON MARKET:

URBAN LANDSCAPES AS PUBLIC HISTORY

When it comes to history, the personal and experiential take precedence over the global and the abstract.

--- DAVID GLASSBERG, *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life*

I would explore the back alleys, looking for vestiges of the texture of the historic city, largely composed of modest vernacular structures, sometimes abandoned, decayed, forgotten. These were the neighborhoods of the history of everyday life, testifying to our capacity to endow the built environment with grace and meaning. Sometimes such places were woven together organically in marvelous symphonies of urban form. But were they being saved?

--- ANTHONY M. TUNG, *Preserving the World's Great Cities: The Destruction and Renewal of the Historic Metropolis*

Introduction

This part of the study applies what I call a culturally sensitive narrative approach to exploring the reciprocal relationship between collective memory and urban landscapes in Kensington Market. It sets out to examine how memories have shaped the evolution of the cultural landscape of the area, and how sites of memory have continuously shaped its present and future. The premise is that each site or place is an intersection of political power, cultural values, and religious beliefs. Furthermore, networking those sites can connect social and cultural memories, and in this way, bring the urban landscape down to a manageable scale.

The essential questions I ask are: ***a***. how have memories and urban landscapes mutually shaped each other in Kensington Market? ***b***. how can the major sites of memory be connected and mapped to tell a collective story?

Jewish Kensington, Jewish Memory: A Sense of History & A Sense of Home

Kensington Market started as a Jewish market possibly because of affordable housing (smaller subdivisions) west of Spadina Avenue, and also because the T. Eaton Company provided employment opportunities. Until the 1960s, Jews remained the dominant ethnic group, and they played a special role in shaping the development of Kensington Market. Between 1901 and 1931, the population of Toronto quadrupled, from 156,000 to 631,000. The Jewish population grew fifteen times in the same years, from 3,000 to 35,000, as the Jewish masses of Eastern Europe crossed the Atlantic. By 1931 Jews became the largest non-British group at 7.2 percent in Toronto. In 1951, census shows that Jews still comprised the largest ethnic component of Toronto at 6 percent.

Spadina Avenue at the time became a centre for every kind of opposition and an alternative to the sober Upper Canadian mainstream: economic, political, cultural, ethnic, linguistic. (Donegan and A Space (Art gallery). 1985: 18) Those forces of Spadina Avenue coalesced and perpetuated the vitality brought by the Jewish community. People continued to observe their religion. They built new synagogues and expanded old ones. Secular cultural organizations flourished alongside religious ones: Yiddish theatre, and Yiddish literature. This entrepreneurial process contributed socially, commercially, religiously, intellectually, and culturally to the evolution of Kensington Market, and they, at the same profoundly shaped Toronto's character. This is probably why "the age of industrial Spadina was also the age of Jewish Spadina", and "the mix of industrial Spadina and Jewish Spadina was volatile and creative." (Donegan and A Space (Art gallery). 1985: 17). To better preserve Kensington Market, we need to trace it to specific sites that reflect and shape this evolution, and interpret them as public history, because here a sense of history is very specific: it is a sense of home that is quotidian, personal, and emotional.[112]

Memory and Place: Authentic Place-Making in Kensington Market

In Chapter Two, I discussed how memory shapes the physical environment at urban scales, and suggested its implication for preservation. This chapter will probe this place and memory dialectic on a more concrete level: collective memories always involve a spatial dimension, and they mutually evolve over time as a process of place-making.

The interaction of place and memory finds its classic genesis in Aristotle's *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, "place is the innermost motionless boundary of what contains (end notes *The Physics* as "the innermost motionless boundary of what

contains,"(Aristotle *et al.*, 1960: 201a 20-1) "it is thought to be a kind of surface, and as it were a vessel, i.e., a container of things. Place is coincident with the thing, for boundaries are coincident with the bounded (*perichon,* i.e. having or holding around)". So "the power of place", argues Aristotle, "is a remarkable one, as the hold is held." Memory is of the past, for whenever someone is actively engaged in remembering, he always says in his soul in this way that he heard, perceived, or thought this before. This meditation indicates a state of affection, according to Aristotle (449a 9).

Cicero introduces the mnemonic of loci (places) and imagines (images) in *De Oratore*, and the art of memory as a rhetoric, or an inner writing, "the first step was to imprint on the memory a series of loci or places." A *locus* is a place easily grasped by the memory, such as a house, an intercolumnar space, a corner, an arch, or the like. (Yates 1966: 6) The formation of the *loci* is of the greatest importance, for the same set of loci can be used again and again for remembering different material. Almost a century later, Quintilian, following Cicero, gave a rational reason in his *Institutio Oratoria* as to why places may help memory, because we know from experience that a place does call up associations in memory.

In contrast, Frances A. Yates systematically traces the artistic feeling for place from its classic tradition in her well-known *The Art of Memory:* "Peter of Ravenna gives it (place rules) much earlier. A memory *locus,* which is to contain a memory image, must not be larger than a man can reach; this is illustrated by a cut of a human image on a locus, reaching upwards and sideways to demonstrate the right proportions of the locus in relation to the image. This rule grows out of the artistic feeling for space, lighting, distance, in memory in the classical place rules." (Yates, 1966: 117-27, 387-88)

When Edward Casey creates the term *place memory*, he calls for a radically inclusive notion of space within which the full landscape context of given places can be accounted (Casey, 1987: 210) . “The affinity between memory and place calls for each other.”(Casey, 1987: 213) Casey further explains this propensity partly because places furnish convenient points of attachment for memories, but also because places provide situations in which remembered actions can deploy themselves or more precisely, places are congealed scenes for remembered contents; and as such they serve to situate what we remember… Place holds in by giving to memories an authentically local habitation: by being their place-holder (Casey, 1987: 189) .

Place and memory, in this vein, are mutually selected. A given place will invite certain memories while discouraging others, and memories are selective for place: they seek out particular places as their natural habitats. Then, how is interaction between memory and place part of place-making, and ultimately a sense of place? Kensington Market evolved organically, so the place-making evolved unselfconsciously, in Keith Basso’s words, place-making does not require special sensibilities or cultivated skills. (Basso, 1996: 7) “If place-making is a way of constructing the past, a venerable means of doing human history, it is also a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities.” (Basso, 1996: 7) This comes down to an active endeavor, so place-making, at its fundamental level, means multiple relationship-building.

Albert Camus argues that sense of place “ is not just that people know and feel, it is something people do” (Basso, 1996: 143-144), or something to do with enabling or belonging. Keith Basso remarks similarly that a sense of place also represents a culling of experience. It is what has accrued – and never stops accruing – from lives spent sensing

places (p. 144). Experience delivered neatly, sense of place is accepted as a simple fact of life, as a regular aspect of how things are; and if one were tempted to change it, which no one ever is, the effort would certainly fail. In Kensington Market, the tangible and intangible quality that gives a place special meaning becomes prominent. So, integrity that invites common responses to common curiosities and needs, rather than abstract authenticity, seems more befitting.

More important, the dynamic evolution of Kensington Market keeps alive the continuous functions of the place.[113] In essence, an indwelling spirit makes a place a "genius loci", posited by Romans, or "the spirit of a place" in English. Here is a distinctive power of place, when "the hold is held", *a mise en scene* for remembered events, when we build up personal and community memories. Only when we identify those sites of memory do we begin to grasp the emotional landscapes that retrospectively tinged built environments.

Sites of Memory in Kensington Market

Pierre Nora cites Frances A. Yates as his source for the term *lieux de memoire*, and believes *the Art Memory* recounts an important tradition of mnemonic techniques. The art of memory therefore is based on a systematic inventory of *loci memoriae,* or "memory places".[114] My primary target in this part of the study is to identify and to interpret such memory places. I hope that the individual voices of each site might provide insight into the complexity of life in Kensington Market. The sites are also selected for dealing with a place-memory parallel from a rather distinctive angle: social memory in the religious place, multiple layers of memory in the same locale, memory moves with

place, and memory stays even when place is gone in that containers are not necessarily physical, but represent spiritual, social, intellectual, and commercial aspects.

This chapter takes a selective look at some significant cultural landscapes whose traces remain, maps those places, connects them into place-centered narratives, and creates a memoryscape to bring alive what might be invisible to planners.[115] Four sites, all situated in Kensington, represent different aspects of a community history: two of them remain in situ; one was moved out of Kensington Market; one is physically gone.

Table 6 Site Selection

Landscape Representation	Site	Location	Official Recognition	Justification: Memory& Place	Field Research Methods
The Landscape of Spirit	Kiev Synagogue	25 Bellevue Ave.	Yes/Provincial	Social memories exist in religious place. The site was designated by Government of Ontario.	Participant observation, material cultural analysis, interviews
The Culinary landscape	The United Bakers Dairy Restaurant	*Original*:338 Spadina Ave. *Now*: 502 Lawrence Plaza	No	Place moves, and so does memory.	Participant observation, oral-history interviewing
The Intellectual Landscape	Hyman's Bookstore	*Original*: 412 Spadina Ave.	No	Place is gone, but memory stays	Oral history interviewing
The Social and Residential Landscape	The Market[116]	Kensington Ave. Baldwin St. &Augusta Ave.	Yes/National	Multiple layers of memory in the same locale. The site represents continuous ethno-cultural dynamics.	Field observation, oral history interviewing

The Landscape of Spirit: Kiev Synagogue, 25 Bellevue Avenue

… the need to preserve their Jewish identity was strong, and, even during their most arduous times, the need for spiritual outlets and ritual was uppermost in their minds.

GOLDIE LIEBMAN, *Three Toronto Synagogues Which Became One* [117]

The world of space surrounds our existence. It is but a part of living, the rest is time. Things are the shore, the voyage is in time. … when we learn to understand that it is the spatial things that are constantly running out, we realize that time is that which never expires, that it is the world of space which is rolling through the infinite expanse of time.

ABRAHAM JOSHUA HESCHEL, *The Sabbath: Its Meaning for Modern Man*

[118]

A Humble Beginning

The synagogue in the Kensington, part of working class Jewish community building,[119] grew out of an innate need for keeping Jewish identity. The congregation of Rodfei Sholem Anshei Kiev (*Pursuer of Peace, Men of Kiev*), commonly known as Kiever, dated back to 1912. Some of the founders, living in the Ward at the time, were new working-class immigrants, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, and peddlers, and they had few resources to build a place for worship. They rented a house on Centre Avenue in the Ward, and in 1917, the Kiever acquired a house at 25 Bellevue Avenue, within Kensington Market. "The congregation had enough confidence in Jewish professional and scientific ability to employ a Jewish architect to design the building."(Speisman, 1979)

In Kensington Market, a pattern had already been established of Jews from specific regions (*landsmanschaften*) banding together to worship forming synagogues with such names as Anshe Kielce (*Men of Kielc*), Romanisha Shule, Anshei England (*Hebrew Men of England*),Anshe Minsk. "Although the first waves of Eastern European Jews were concerned with creating a proper religious environment, they were not inclined to align themselves with the larger synagogues. Instead, upon arrival they initiated smaller Shuls, called Shetels. From each ethnic sector a group of males from the same village, town or city would organize their own house of worship to maintain their unique customs."[120] So, the humble beginning of Kiev fit into this bigger pattern in the working-class Kensington of the early 20th century. It "served as safety valves and security blankets for the immigrants as well as integrating the social and religious life of the neighborhood. They were definitely meeting places where landsmen could find understanding and moral support from their fellow congregants." [121]

Spiritually, Judaism emphasizes an ultimate commitment to God: "the yearn for spiritual living, the awareness of ubiquitous mystery, the noble nostalgia for God, all are indispensible parts of Jewish soul" (Heschel, 1955: 254), as well as an ultimate reciprocity, a partnership of God and humans. "God is not detached from or indifferent to our joys and grieves. Authentic vital needs of man's body and soul are a divine concern. They is why human life is holy. God is a partner and a partisan in man's struggle for justice, peace, and holiness and it is because of his being in need of man that He entered a covenant with him for all time, a mutual bond embracing God and man, a relationship to which God, not only man, is committed." (Heschel, 1951a: 241-2) To build a structure to support and practice such faith requires an equal amount of commitment. As "raising an

edifice was an act of worship in which the feelings and senses of a people were deeply engaged." (Tuan, 1977: 106)

There seems no definitely proof that when Benjamin Swartz, a novice Jewish architect, designed Kiev, his faith interfaced with his design. Yet the Kiever brought with them a strong sense of community from their home culture. The structure was completed in 1927 and financed by a mortgage to Capital Trust Corporation for $16,000 on November 29, 1927. The survival material culture continues to attest this community endeavor.

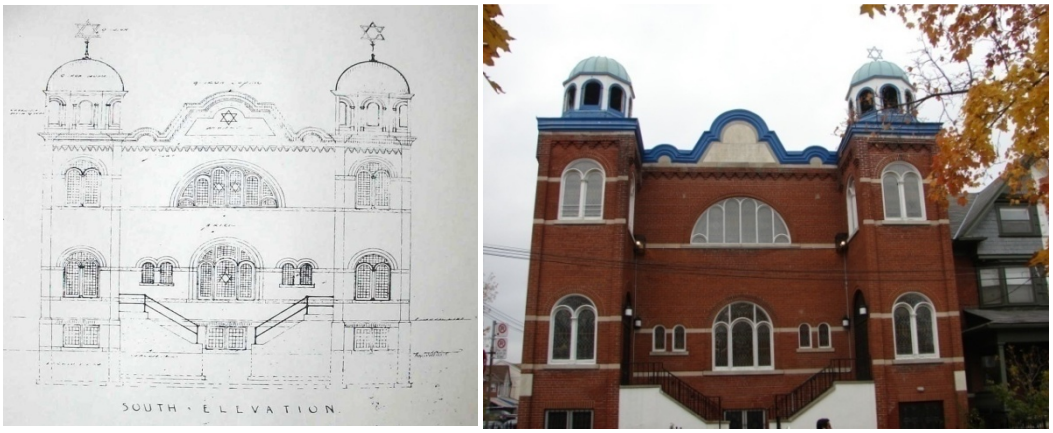


Figure 29 Original Architectural Drawing of Exterior of South Side of the Kiev

The original architectural drawing of the exterior of southern side of the Kiev was done by Benjamin Swartz, c.1923. Swartz combined arches, ironwork, red brick, and decorative stained-glass windows to make the Kiever attractive. *Source*: Ontario Jewish Archives, Accession #2004-1/6.

Figure 30 Exterior of South Side of the Kiev Today

Photo courtesy: Na Li, October 29, 2009.

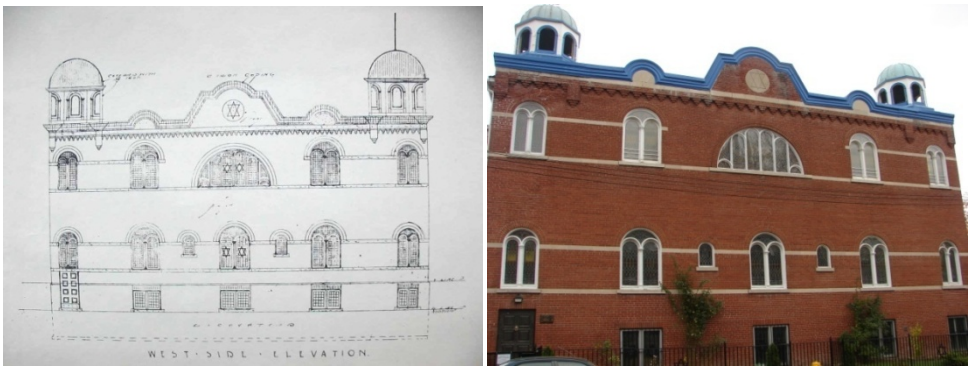


Figure 31 Original Architectural Drawing of Exterior of Western Side of the Kiev

The entrances to the synagogue are located in the sides of the stair towers, creating a less majestic or imposing entrance. *Source*: Ontario Jewish Archives, Accession #2004-1/6.

Figure 32 Western Side of the Kiev Today

Photo courtesy: Na Li, October 29, 2009

Eternity into Temporality: Spirit of Space[122]

Figure 33 Interior of the Kiev Photo courtesy: Na Li, October 29, 2009.

A classic Middle Eastern style, as the above drawings and pictures shown, Kiev is a combination of Byzantine, Romanesque, and Art-Deco elements, which is a good metaphor of the hedge-podge of the congregation's life. It stands as a modest interpretation of the established synagogue building patterns in Toronto at the time: Toronto synagogues, by the 1930s, architecturally followed a formula – they were twin-towered, had round-headed openings, and contained an interior dome. (Graham, 2001: 22) The interior, like all the synagogues built in Toronto since Holy Blossom on Bond Street,[123] has a central dome over the sanctuary, and like its other traditional contemporaries, has a hand-carved ark at the eastern end and the bimah in the center. "This is what the Sovereign Lord says, Although I sent them far away among the nations and scattered them among the countries, yet for a little while I have been a sanctuary for them in the countries where they have gone." [124] Some distinct architectural features, however, were incorporated including twin Byzantine-style domes, pastel and white trim colors, a decorative extended parapet, and four different styles of arched windows. The entrances to Kiev are located in the stair towers with lower elevation remind people of its humble origin.

Inside the Kiev, the bimah, as the primary focus of attention during the worship, exercises a decisive influence on Kiev's construction plan: its location, design, and lighting. It takes the simple hall, or rectangular floor plan, with the roof is low in slop and simple in profile with no towers. [125] The bimah stands along the main axis of the building, emphasized by such distinctive architectural features as a skylight, a lantern above it, or pillars beside it. The bimah table, made of wood,[126] is raised on a platform with an enclosing railing. The officiant reads the Torah scrolls from there, and leads the

congregation in turning toward Jerusalem during prayers. The elevation of the platform follows a post-Talmudic tradition, so the prayers can be carried "out of the depth".[127] A central bimah also provides a possibility for interaction between the building and the worshippers.

At the eastern end of the not-wood-paneled wall is the stand alone Ark. Here the Torah scrolls, bounded in strips of fabric, are encased in a cloth cover adorned with a silver Torah shield. Supposed to have been installed in the Holy of Holies as Solomon's Temple, the ark is covered by a curtain that is likened to the veil that divided the Holy of Holies at the proceeding room at the Temple. The eternal light, a symbol of the Law which Jews must keep alive, hangs in front of the ark: a map first lit at the synagogue's dedication when the Torah scrolls are placed in the ark. The Orthodox Jews usually do not use electricity on the Sabbath, so the dome, the huppa frame, also functions as acoustic for the individual reading.

Figure 34 View from the Bimah Facing East

Services and Torah readings are led from this platform. *Source*: Ontario Jewish Archives, #311.

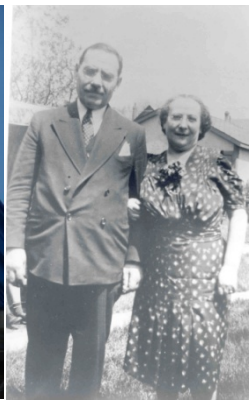
Placed on the wall, the windows are small, which allows for the later addition of side annexes high enough to hold standing adults without blocking the main prayer hall windows. The small windows also give a dim and almost sober mood. Aside from the natural light, there are artificial ones. The candelabra stand off the bimah railing adding light to the center of the prayer hall.

"Pious Jews at prayer may be indifferent to beauty in the synagogue, but they are sensitive to the correct arrangement of synagogue furnishings. The ritual furniture is connected to liturgy, and to ancestral traditions that help to maintain the cohesion of the minority group." (Krinsky, 1985: 21) The Kiev material culture does not stand isolated; instead, it clarifies social roles and relations. [128] Primarily a religious place, Kiev presents a Jewish interpretation of social relations. Women's Auxiliary (figure 35 & 36), for example, is separated from men's congregation.

Figure 35 Women's Auxiliary I & Figure 36 Women's Auxiliary II

The space is lightened up the colored semi-circular window in the central bay of western facade. The mullions divide the large opening recall the narrow arches of the tower windows. From here, we see murals painted by the Silverstein family, stained glass windows, and men's seating area in the sanctuary. "The seats with the best view of the bimah are numbered in multiples of eighteen, the number symbolizing life." (Levitt *et al.*, 1985: 69) Photo courtesy: Na Li, October 29, 2009.

Throughout the synagogue, there are memorial plaques for those who have made contributions to the Kiev: family members who are still living donate money in honor of their deceased relatives to pay for the different ornaments of the synagogue. Examples include:



Left:Figure 37 Name of Mr. and Mrs Harry Litvak Their names are carved into the stone on the exterior of the southern side of the Kiev. Photo courtesy: Na Li, October 26, 2009.

Right: Figure 38 Mr. and Mrs. Harry Litvak, May 6, 1939. *Source:* Ontario Jewish Archives, photo #531.

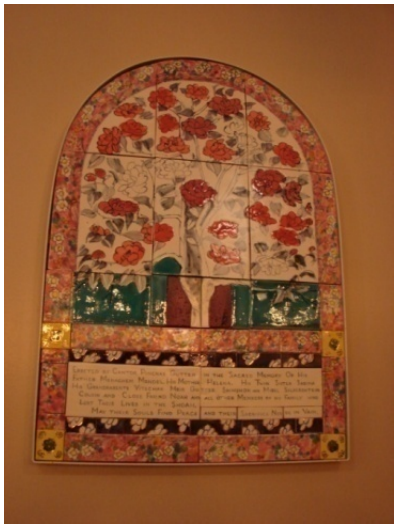


Figure 39 Memorial Plaque inside the Kiev This plaque is to remember an individual who contributed to the shul. Photo courtesy: Na Li, October 29, 2009.

Historic Restoration and Designation: an Enduring Symbol of Jewish Memory

In the early 1970s, the Kiev started to suffer physically: water damage and termite infestation caused the structure to be in desperate need of repair. Then it plummeted into the financial nadir, running the risk of being sold. Determination to preserve the Kiev was strong: "The community should have the building not only for its inherent historical value, but also because it would provide a physical environment where youth could identify their roots, to see their parent's milieu and what motivated previous generations." [129]A Restoration Committee, led by Sol Edell and Albert Latner, was formed immediately, and the Committee, with different methods,[130] managed to raise enough money for the restoration project launched in 1981. The project involved replacing doors and windows to match the originals. In addition, the social hall was renovated and the exterior trim and interior walls were repainted. The restoration was completed by the mid-1980s. [131]

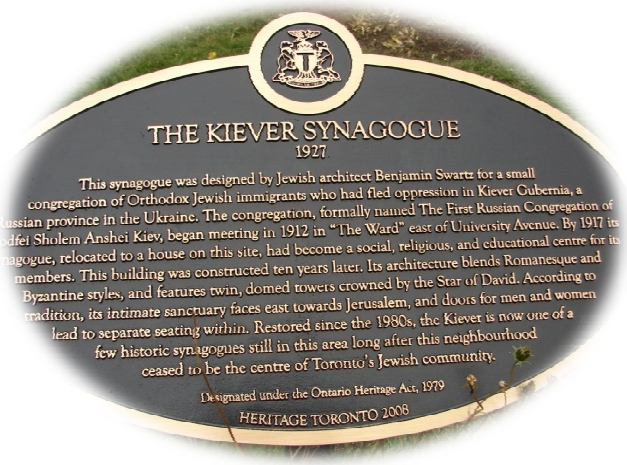


Figure 40 The Kiever Synagogue Plaque

Photo credit: Na Li, October 26, 2009.

In 1979, the Ontario government designated Kiev as a historical site under the *Ontario Heritage Act*: it is historically unique because of its distinctive architectural features and because it was the first synagogue built by Ukrainian Jews who had escaped from Czarist Russia – and the first building of Jewish significance to be given this designation in Ontario.

Site interpretation should be broadened at Kiev: the social history and memory contained in the space "collective memory is not an inert and passive thing, but a field of activity."(Said, 2000: 185) The current Rabbi, Aaron Levy, is excited to be building traditional and progressive Jewish life in Toronto through Makom,[132] a grassroots, downtown Jewish community, at the Kiever Synagogue in the Kensington Market. "We are creating an inclusive and diverse space," Rabbi Levy says, "committed to Jewish learning, arts and culture, spirited prayer and ritual, and social and environmental activism."[133] Jane Jacob's words "new ideas need old buildings" resonated.

The Kiev remains in situ, and it continuously holds the collective memories of families and community. The primarily religious function of the site has long expanded into the social and cultural arena of a Jewish community that has changed demographically over the last fifty years. What about the sites that are physically transformed or gone? Can they still hold memories? To answer those questions, we turn to Hyman's Bookstore and the United Bakers Dairy Restaurant. Both were originally located on Spadina Avenue, part of Kensington Market.

The Intellectual Landscape: Hyman's Bookstore: 412 Spadina Avenue

The only people my parents would not allow in the store were the communists. Everyone else, and their political viewpoints from the right to the left, including the religious was welcome there. They discussed Israeli politics and Canadian, too, but mostly whatever affected the Jewish community. It was a place where people of varying opinions could come and exchange ideas.

--- GURION YMAN, son of Ben Zion Hyman[134]

An essential component of a Jewish community is a place to study, and the synagogue partly performed that function. However, a bookstore at 412 Spadina Avenue left a profound and indelible mark on the intellectual landscape of the Jewish Kensington – Hyman's Book and Art Shop, commonly known as Hyman's Bookstore. It is a story of a Jewish intellectual, with his business-savvy wife, who pioneered and expanded the intellectual life of the new Jewish immigrants in the early twentieth century.

Historic Evolution of the Bookstore

Figure 41 Ben Zion Hyman in front of Hyman's Book & Art Shop at 371 Spadina Avenue around 1930s *Source*: Ontario Jewish Archives # 1171

Ben Zion Hyman was born in White Russia (today's Belarus) around 1891. "The family was too poor to afford books but Ben Zion was often at the small Jewish Library. He loved Chayim Nachman Bialik's poetry, and satisfied his craving to own a book of these poems by copying the entire book into a school notebook."[135] He studied Electrical Engineering at the Odessa Polytechnic University and graduated in 1912. With his gift for languages,[136] he studied English, "with an English newspaper and a Russian-English, English-Russian dictionary" (*ibid*), on the way to the New World. There he successfully graduated from the University of Toronto with a degree in Electrical Engineering in 1918. Without a prospect of securing a job that suited his talents and bents, Ben Zion and Fanny (*nee Konstantynowsky*) decided to open a bookstore. They rented a place in 1925 on the east side of the Spadina Avenue (371 Spadina), and then moved to 412 Spadina Avenue.

Left: Figure 42 Interior of Hyman's Bookstore *Source*: Ontario Jewish Archives # 1174

Right: Figure 43 Ben Zion in his Bookstore (year undated) Photo courtesy: Gurion and Ruth Hyman

Figure 44 Exterior of Hyman's Bookstore in the 1930s Photo courtesy: Gurion and Ruth Hyman

Located on the Spadina Avenue at its zenith and only a few steps from the Labor Lyceum, the headquarter for many of the dressmakers and furriers unions, Hyman's bookstore quickly became a salad bowl of people from every political persuasion, where they would discuss politics for hours. Here one would feel the pulsating energy of a budding community, a virtual babble of lofty ideas as well as ordinary concerns.

Figure 45 Gurion Hyman outside of Hyman's Bookstore in 1948 Photo courtesy: Gurion Hyman

An avid book collector and an avid reader, Ben Zion sold books on a wide range of topics. The store was the first to carry a complete line of books in English, especially the books on Jewish topics in English. For the newly arrived immigrants with little English capability, this revolutionary move expanded their horizons, so that they could intellectually and socially adapt to the new environment. Parents brought in their children, so that they had the opportunity to learn Jewish subjects in English. The bookstore supplied the Jewish schools with their texts. The bookstore was also a lending library, at five cents per day at the time. Ben Zion had a heart for his community: he once "stole" books his own bookstore and put them in a nearby Jewish Public Library, because the library did not have enough money to buy new books for the community. [137]

More Than a Bookstore

The store also became an agent selling tickets for a nearby Jewish theater, which brought in a bigger Jewish population. They also sold products for accountants, such as ledger sheets, index cards, etc. “Many accountants, especially those that had clients in the garment district on lower Spadina, liked dealing with Ben Zion.” [138] Gurion remembered going in his jalopy of a car to the furriers and dressmakers to deliver supplies for their accountants, and also to the Labor Lyceum. Additionally, with no gift shops in the Synagogue for many years, the bookstore functioned as the gift shops as well. A variety of Jewish ritual items, ranged from taleisim, t’fillin, siddurim, to machziorim, candlesticks, and menorahs. Ben Zion’s poetic talents worked wonderfully. He designed and customized Jewish greeting cards, “many of which Ben Zion made himself, pop-ups, with glistening ‘diamond’ dust (made from glass), with poetic greetings written anonymously by some of the poets and well-known writers of Jewish Toronto. He sold his greeting cards wholesale to many small cigar and convenience stores who had Jewish customers.”[139]

Hyman’s Bookstore remained on Spadina till 1972, two years after Fanny passed away, but those who shopped there keep those memories warm and close to their hearts. It continues to exist as the Jewish Public Library, 4600 Bathurst Street, where most Jews moved out of Kensington Market in the 1950s.

Figure 46 412 Spadina Avenue Today Photo courtesy: Na Li, January 20, 2009.

The Culinary Landscape: United Bakers Dairy Restaurant, 338 Spadina Avenue

The garment industry was a very vibrant industry, and today when everything was manufactured off-shore, that was the case. Everything was manufactured on Spadina Avenue. The Needle trade was a very very important business on Spadina, and there were a lot of Jewish merchants who owned factories, manufactured their garments there, sold to all of the stores. So yes, United Bakers was a hub, because it was a center not just for garment industry, but really, the Bay street lawyers would come over and have lunch at United, the physicians at Mount Sinai hospital would come over and have lunch at United. The Toronto Jewish Congress at the time was over on Beverley Street, and they used to walked along D'Arcy street, across Spadina avenue, and they had lunch at United. The fur traders union was all in the area, and the Labor Lyceum was just north of us. So everybody that worked in the area would come and have lunch at United. It was a really meeting spot. The same as it is today.

--- RUTHIE LADOVSKY, current owner of The United Bakers Dairy Restaurant

United Bakers Dairy Restaurant, Toronto's oldest-running Jewish restaurant, is a quintessential place sprinkled with Jewish memories. Originally located at 338 Spadina Avenue, the United Bakers moved to its current location, 506 Lawrence Avenue West, no longer part of Kensington Market.

Figure 47 Roise Green, Roise Lieberman, Aaron Ladovsky, Sarah Ladovsky at the United Bakers in 1921 Photo courtesy: Ruthie Ladovsky.

Figure 48 Ruthie, Philip, and Herman Ladovsky in 1999

The second and third generation of the United Bakers, Photo courtesy: Ruthie Ladovsky

A Link to the New World: the First Meal in Canada

Aaron and Sarah Ladovsky, from Kielce, Poland (about half way between Warsaw and Krakow), started the United Bakers Dairy Restaurant in 1912, at the corner of Terauley and Agnes (today's Dundas and Bay Street). They were socially active in the early 20th century. In 1912, they founded the Toronto Chapter of the Bakers and Confectionary Workers International Union of America, an organization advocating for collective rights among Jewish bakers and providing sick and health benefits. In 1913, they founded the Kiecler Society of Toronto, a community-based immigrant-aid association based on their hometown, Kielce. They brought this active and pioneering spirit to their business adventure. The location, 338 Spadina Avenue, only a few steps from the Labor Lyceum, then hub of the Jewish community, helped facilitate this transmission. As a result, the United Bakers became a political and social centre for heated debates and trade meetings. With no exaggeration, "a peek into the nearly one-

hundred year past tells us as much about Jewish immigration to Canada and dietary practices among Jews." (Rabinovitch, 2009: 48)

The United Bakers, though with a *chechshure*, which means a Rabbi's supervision therefore not an official Kosher restaurant, keeps its own *ruach*, a Hebrew word that doubles for wind and spirit. Being strictly diary, the United Bakers serves no meat, so it catered to many people who are observant and non-Kosher customers as well. It has offered an informal, clean, warm and comfortable environment for the new immigrants from its beginning.

The Ladvosky family came from Kielce, Poland, the historic bagel-basket of Europe. "Aaron and his brother Lazar had trained as bakers in Poland, but most of the food served was, and continues to be, based on Sarah's original recipes." (Rabinovitch, 2009: 49) The Middle European dairy soup, for example, originates from Kielce: they used sugar in their cooking. The sweet and sour cabbage borsht, made on Fridays, is derived from this unique cooking method. Also, for pickled herring, baked carp, and gefilt fish, they have kept the Polish way of cooking by adding sugar, and the Russian way of seasoning it with more salt and pepper. Through both ways of cooking, the United Bakers accommodate customers from a diverse background and religion.[140] Even today, if there is a particular food that United Bakers serves, you probably won't find it in any other place, such as the sweet sour cabbage soup made only on Fridays.

Figure 49 Aaron Ladovsky and Staff outside the United Bakers in 1928

Source: Ontario Jewish Archives #3505.

Figure 50 Interior of the United Bakers at 338 Spadina Avenue I

Figure 51 Interior of the United Bakers at 338 Spadina Avenue II

Photo courtesy: Ruthie Ladovsky.

“But here's an eatery still tied to its roots -- United Bakers Diary Restaurant -- run with warmth and taste by the Ladovskys. Through the window I can see Herman, the aging elf, son of the original United Bakers. The last time I had a plate of his vegetarian chopped liver, he waved a copy of my letter to the editor of the Canadian Jewish News at me. ‘So you’re still giving it to them!’ he said, patting me on the back. His son Philip is beside him. Phil used to take kids on canoe trips in Temagami during the summers. He plays jazz piano when he's not behind the cash.” (Donegan and A Space (Art gallery). 1985: 24)

Left: Figure 52 Herman and Philip Ladovsky; Right: Figure 53 Herman, Ruthie, and Philip Ladovsky in front of the United Bakers' Spadina Location prior to the Moving in 1982 Photo courtesy: Ruthie Ladovsky.

Figure 54 The United Bakers Today

Photo courtesy: Na Li, October 21, 2009

In the 1980s, the United Bakers moved out of its Spadina location, but miraculously, it has maintained the same character, the same integrity, serving almost the same clientele, mainly Jewish, but from all walks of life. “The continuity is in the tradition of not only serving traditional dairy dishes that newcomers to Canada might have enjoyed in the early 1900’s, but building upon those dishes and offering newer menu items for the next generation”, according to Ruthie, “our challenge is to consistently prepare the foods that our customers have always loved and associate with the United Bakers, and also to keep up with the demand for something new, at least once every ten years!” [141]Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi’s observation seems quite right for this continuity at the United Bakers, “Here in the course of a meal around the family table, ritual, liturgy, and even culinary elements are orchestrated to transmit a vital past from one generation to the next.”(Yerushalmi, 1982: 44-5) It demonstrates what Edward Relph calls, “the enduring relationships between a people and their place.” (Relph, 1976: 33) As

the business moved from its original site, 338 Spadina Avenue, to its current location, yet the collective memoires wonderfully stay.

From Sites of Memory to Memoryscape: Wisdom Sits in Place[142]

What binds the above places together is that they are all vehicles of memories, capsules of experience, or rather, "the present expressions of past experiences and events."(Relph, 1976: 33) They stand out, not only because of their architectural significance, [143] but also because they started as, and continue to work as centers of meaning for individuals and communities, despite the inevitable changes spanning over a century. Space and time reinforce each other, within which we anchor our individual and collective experiences. Just as Kevin Lynch prefers to emphasize a sense of local continuity over the saving of special things (Lynch, 1972: 235), the fundamental preservation issues in Kensington Market are mostly emotional and familial ones. Here, stages of individual lives, episodes of a community history, and transformation of urban landscapes are not bounded by the latitude and longitude of the neighborhood. Here, "spirit of the place" becomes a singularly sensuous experience that blends sights, sounds, smells, and tastes, quotidian, fleeting, and sometimes unpleasant in its own right. Yi Fu Tuan captures it well, "A person in the process of time invests bits of his emotional life in his home, and beyond the home in his neighborhood." (Tuan, 1974: 99) Such place, noted by Kent Ryden, "weav(ing) themselves inextricably into the fabric of daily experience"(Ryden, 1993: 39). Rene Dubos echos, "I remember the mood of places better than their precise features because places evokes for me life situations rather than geographical sites." (Dubos, 1972: 87)

Memories break down and permeate rather undramatic daily experience; place-centered narratives portray this kind of experience in vivid details. If one site tells a single story, several sites of memory, synthesized, tell a collective story. Working

together, different components and dimensions of those narratives provide perspectives and add emotional depth to the urban landscapes.

In his study of environmental history, William Cronon argues, “To shift from chronicle to narrative, a tale of environmental change must be structured.”(Cronon, 1992: 1367) He suggests further what distinguishes stories from other forms of discourse is that they describe an action that begins, continues over a well-defined period of time, and finally draws to a definite close, with consequences that become meaningful because of their placement within the narrative…. Narrative is a peculiarly human way of organizing reality, and this has important implication for the way we approach the history of environmental change.” (Cronon, 1992: 1367) Clare Cooper Marcus incorporates the “place” aspect to this attention to narratives: environmental memories. (Altman and Low, 1992: 88) He argues that “the subtle but powerful blending of place, object, and feeling is so complex, so personal, that it is unlikely that the process will ever be fully explained…. In the sense that memory of place is a universal human experience, we are all alike; in the sense that a person’s memories are unique, accessible, and meaningful only to that person, specific memories embedded in place cannot be fully experienced by anyone else.” (p. 111). While recognizing this “peculiarly human way of organizing reality”, I choose to focus on the universal aspects that compress those personal experiences into community memories in Kensington Market.

The following four themes emerge from my foray into Kensington Market: ***a***. Kensington Market as a memory container; ***b***. Connection at three levels: with place (Kensington Market), with family, and with the community; ***c***. Continuity: a big thing; ***d***.

Survivance: culturally rooted. Residents have, unconsciously, transformed the ordinary built environments into “storied places”.

Kensington Market as a Memory Container

The first theme, literarily connected with memory and place as a series of genuine *loci*, generates the most discussions from my interview respondents. New settlement in Kensington Market, like in any foreign culture, involved a difficult entry. Robert Harney reminds us, “in our celebration of multiculturalism we must not fail to recognize an immigrant’s first years as years of constrain and to see that time as a crucible whereby his response to small but daily slights in his new country and his attachment to his country to origin.” (Harney and Multicultural History Society of Ontario., 1981: 10) Here new immigrants overcame the language and cultural barriers with a business vision for a market niche at the time.[144] They adjusted and adapted, survived and thrived. Most of them were hard-working, customer-oriented, and imbued with a practical sense of getting on with life. If “pioneers always try to use the past as a template by which to cut the future”,[145] the first generation of immigrants who settled in Kensington Market tried to carve out a piece of land and make that parcel with their own identity. The tenacity remains, and Kensington Market, embedded with layers of memories, records those personal and community struggles.

Sanci’s, located at 66 Kensington Avenue, known as the first merchant in Toronto to import bananas and the first Italian merchant in predominantly Jewish Kensington Market, is one of the oldest stores in Kensington Market. Salvatori and Antonina Sanci bought the store in 1931 in the midst of poultries and kosher diaries. Prior to this location,

Salvatori (Samuel) Sanci operated a fruit market at Queen and Bay, and later relocated the business to Young Street. 1937 Salvatori extended the store-front, and discreetly placed the design of a cross in the brickwork at the top of the building (figure 55): a sign of his religious identity. Most of the interiors of the structure remain original (figure 56 and 57). D, the fourth generation of the Sanci's family, walked me through the warehouse, pinpointing those details, with a touchy reminiscence. He shared his fun memories of Kensington Market.

It was my great-grandfather who started the business. He just sold bananas. He used to just bring his trucks down to the market, and sold them from his truck, and the cops did not let him do that. So he looked for a place, and he bought this property in 1922, or 1923. When the retail was booming in the 1940s, and we sort of had the corner of the street (Kensington Avenue and Baldwin Street). … I definitively feel part of a bigger community (Added: community changes even in my life time Well, Augusta and Kensington are pretty much two different communities. it is not really one big community; it's kind of split up into smaller sessions. I remember when I was walking along the Kensington with my grandmother, we always got good deals on everything around. That was a lot of fun!

Tom's Place, a discount clothing store at 190 Baldwin Street, has just entered its 50th year in Kensington Market (figure 58). The store occupies four old houses, with large skylights added to the roofs. Known for its semi-haggling, Tom's prices are not real pricing. T, the owner, knows his customers and the market. He draws personal connections the moment you walk in the store, a family tradition his father started half a century ago, when the store was called William's Bargain Second Hand Store (figure 59). For all those years, T, who takes great pride in his family business and his customers, has never changed the store front .T recollected his childhood memories of significant moments in his business adventure, and Kensington Market, in a ruminative mood.

My father was a peddler in Hungary. He left Hungary in 1956 because of the war, and he went to Halifax on a boat. He moved to Toronto in 1958, and opened up a store called William's Bargain Store. He only dealt used clothing and old furniture.

Kensington Market was called the Jewish Market by small entrepreneurs. A lot of those stores were homes, with people living upstairs and doing business downstairs. In 1968 when I came to work for my father: lot of stores were doing all their business outside, food stores, clothing stores, even the chicken stores. Now there are very few stores which are doing business outside, and most of the stores became bigger. There were not many living upstairs.

The beauty of Kensington was the rents were low, so you could make a living. Plus you could live upstairs or downstairs. So you could do your business home. A lot of people who were doing business were very hard-working. My dad sold used furniture and clothing, and he catered to the Hungary community because he did not speak English. So this area, Spadina-College was a place that Hungarians came because of cheap rent and because of Kensington Market. We have had the best bakeries, best buns, cheese store, beautiful rye bread... So the area suited my parents, and he made a lot of friends.

My father also understood the market, and what people are looking for. most people came to Canada without speaking English, so my father provided them working clothes at a very low rate. It was an easy atmosphere, no price tag -- we made a small living. In the 1980s businesses were tough. All people went to Eaton's (the big department store near Spadina), but we survived. My father was really frugal, and he watched his expense. He made very little money, but he was able to survive because of his little expense.

Perola Supermarket (figure 60 and 61), 247 Augusta Avenue, has been a meeting spot for the Toronto's Latin communities for almost half a century. It has been in Kensington Market since the 1950s, and according to S, current owner of the store, "all the Latin communities in Toronto know the store." S remembered how his parents started the store, and what Kensington Market was like when he was a child.

The history of this store goes back to 1967. My father brought in this business. My mother came from Venezuela. The reason they came here was because of the similarity in the language, the Portuguese and the Spanish: at least they can understand each other, as opposed to some places they would not be able to because they spoke no English at all…

My father had some friends in New York, and he started to ask them to ship some Latin products...from being original Portuguese to Spanish. It was the only store, not

only in Toronto, but in Canada at the time to sell Latin products. The first Latinos started to come here... we were the only place that had Latin products. Back in the late 60s and early 70s we had at one time eleven people working full time in the store, and it was a pretty crazy place back in those days.

I was five year old at the time, but I remember it was mainly Jews and Portuguese. There was really no anybody else at that time. Most of the businesses were Portuguese and Jewish (interrupted. When they grow older, they started to rent businesses to all nationalities. I started helping my father to run the store.... working long hours, some years you take vocations, but some years you cannot (He enjoys being his own boss).

(There were)so many character about the Market. It is the only open-air market of this type. Over the years fresh bloods have been pumped into the market, younger people, or people with new ideas, such as Pedestrian Sundays... a lot is going on here. Something that started with sort of new blood. I do not mind those changes at all. Anything that draws the attention of the market is good, because naturally, curiosity is going to bring people down her to see the diversity, or things they see here that they cannot get anywhere else, are the things that keep people coming back -- lot of people are living in the area now, if you can get an apartment in the Kensington, which is hard to come by. It's becoming very trendy, and the restaurants keep the market alive (hopping) at night.

House of Spice, 190 Augusta Avenue, started in 1971. A family-owned business, it sells premium herbs and spices from around the world, an assortment of hot sauces, sea salts, teas, coffees, exotic spice blends and other hard to locate specialty ingredients (figure 62). The structure, however, has been there when the area was predominantly Jewish. Different owners have extended the building to the edge of the sidewalks, but the glass store front remains (figure 63).

C, immigrated from Portugal, is current manager who has been in the area for thirty-five years, remembers Kensington Market,

… a lot of friends, and a lot hardships. The market has changed a lot. Well, see, Kensington market back in those days, you see ducks and chickens running around. The government has cleaned it up, which is a good thing, environment and health wise. You have to do that, right? I think it is for the good, (seemed a bit reluctant, though) Everything is so expensive now, but Kensington market is still one of the best place to

come to shop. (Added later) it was a lot busier, people running everywhere, packed with people.

Caribbean Corner, 171 Baldwin Street, is a grocery store that accommodates primarily Jamaicans. An old structure, the place was owned by David Kwosnewki in 1923, and occupied by various families until 1957. Baldwin Kosher Meat Market open here in 1958, and remained in business till 1970s. Y, current owner, described the changes over the years.

When I first started in 1977, the store was on the Kensington Ave. Kensington Market was much different, much different. It had more ... (interview interrupted). It used to have live chickens, more smelly, and buildings were relatively more dilapidated. It has changed... When I first came here, it was mostly Jewish, and then gradually, Portuguese came into, then Jamaicans. I did a feasibility study, and found this location. I wanted to make it little of corner of the Caribbean, which reminded me of home.

The majority of the stores attract old customers: people come not only to shop, or to eat, but to reminisce. The singular beauty lies in a deep sense of time meets humanity in a *place,* where individual memories, desires, and hopes are shared.

Oh, Yeah, sometimes four generations come into the store. They share stories with me sometimes. Some people made friends here, because they come the same day each week, right here. I like that... Some people who did not see each other for a long time, years and years. They come here, and they see each other. They get all excited!

(When it comes to the way she runs the business, she set back, and said), "I didn't take that into consideration. It's basically human-being, and you react like a human being. It is not only money, money, money.... Again, it just happened. (She is not instrumental at all)

--- Y from Caribbean Corner

We have many old customers. We have customers which go back to 35 or 40 years.... I get customers that I knew when they were kids, which is pretty wild…because they spend their life time here. I enjoy this whole business, luckily. I am not sure if my kids are interested in carrying on this family business.

This place has become a bit of a tradition for a lot of people.... Mexican Consulate is a customer here. It is nice to see a bunch of people come in and they meet here, saying "hey, I have not seen you for a while". They meet and shop here, and they make friends, then they become known for many years. (It just happened while S was talking, one of the customers came in saying *Hi* (in Spanish). They chatted briefly, then he left. It was an easy atmosphere)

--- S from Perola Supermarket

Sure you are connected, you feel connected, not because you come to the market and work at the House of Spice, it is but it is people that makes is more inventing. We get a bunch of people from all over... a lot of old customers. I get customers coming here for thirty years. They come to see me; you have to keep the relationship.

--- C from House of Spice

Connection: with Kensington Market, with families, with communities

This sense of "feeling connected" sustains the soul of Kensington Market. The derived nostalgia *nosos*, return to native land, and *algos,* suffering or grief, embodies Kensington Market's extraordinary memorability. David Lowenthal is quite right when he writes, "if the past is a foreign country, nostalgia has made it 'the foreign country with the healthiest tourist trade of all." (Lowenthal, 1985: 4) Even when the physical structures that support place are gone, such as Hyman's Bookstore, a peculiar haunting of the place remains. The third generation of the Hyman family recalled how people remembered Ben Zion Hyman and his bookstore long after it was gone:

In the last few years of Ben Zion's life, when he went to the nearest synagogue on the Sabbath, people still recognized him and talked about how the bookstore on Spadina was part of their life… they showed him the greeting card that he made, or the books purchased from the store.

When the physical location of a place is moved, such as the United Bakers, nostalgia leads people to recall and revisit, as if in remembering, we are transported back to re-experience. R, the third generation and co-owner of the United, described how the United Bakers continued to be a meeting spot for people to feel connected:

The garment industry was a very vibrant industry, and today when everything was manufactured off-shore, that was the case. Everything was manufactured on Spadina Avenue. The Needle trade was a very very important business on Spadina, and there were a lot of Jewish merchants who owned factories, manufactured their garments there, sold to all of the stores. So yes, United Bakers was a hub, because it was a center not just for garment industry, but really, the Bay street lawyers would come over and have lunch at United, the physicians at Mount Sinai hospital would come over and have lunch at United. The Toronto Jewish Congress at the time was over on Beverley street, and they used to walked along D'Arcy street, across Spadina avenue, and they had lunch at United. The fur traders union was all in the area, and the Labor Lyceum was just north of us. So everybody that worked in the area would come and have lunch at United. It was a really meeting spot. The same as it is today. (R emphasized this continuity with a rising tone, even without my questioning)

What makes it so unique is that every day somebody will come in, and share stories with us, of their memories, of (being) having their first meal in Canada at United Bakers on Spadina, knowing my father, knowing my grandfather and grandmother. Even today, a lot of the older population are passing away, but there are still, not many, but a handful of them that remember... particularly the older population, people that know my grandfather, who (as a kid) grew up on Spadina avenue, who are now in their 70s. Even Mel Lastman, who grew up in Kensington market, came here regularly. (Sure, Mel comes here all the time)… (you know), they grew up in Kensington, and they grew up with United Bakers as part of their life. And they continue to eat here, and they continue to share stories, and it is a really wonderful feeling to have so many people come here to feel the connection to our family, to feel the connection to our lives.

In a subsequent interview, I was fortunate to have both P, R's brother and co-owner of the United Bakers, sitting across the table. P provided another perspective into "feeling connected":

In Jewish religion, in Hebrew, we have a very famous saying, "all of Israelis are responsible for each other." there is no independence in the Jewish religion. The worst thing to say is that I am not part of a group. The group is above all individual. Our

grandfather came from where the religion was much stronger, so he would feel strongly for all of us, and a necessity for being connected. Our father was raised in Canada, and he had a big heart. He is a wonderful man, and he was very aware of his responsibility to take care of what he could do for the community. He enjoyed it, really enjoyed it!

Both R and I were also raised in Canada, and we take a more cosmopolitan rather than a parochial look of life. Both of us take a huge pride in the fact we have this opportunity, this business opportunity and also this social opportunity and this family opportunity. We also say we are sitting in a great scene, watching a parade marching. But we are not just sitting and watching the parade, Ruthie is always handing something to the people in the parade. We also try to make them feel we are connected. Connection is essential in the Jewish belief.

Ruthie added,

My father, Herman, spent a lot of time at Ontario Jewish Archives. To honor his memory when he passed away, we had a plaque that was put up there. (The Plaque says)A Jew is not a Jew unless he is a member of a community. Community is a very important aspect of Judaism. Our grandfather was a center of the Jewish community, because every new immigrant that came to this country was looking for a connection to somebody. United Bakers was the spot that he could come to and to find that connection. My grandfather and grandmother would come to facilitate that connection. (you know)... they would be able to say to them, "Oh, there is somebody from your shtetel that comes in here as well." or "somebody you can connect to." They were the center of the community.

The relationship between community and places is indeed a very powerful one in which each reinforces the identity of the other, and in which the landscape is very much an expression of communally held beliefs and values and of interpersonal involvements. Relph summarizes this mutual bonds of people and place as the following, "people are their place and a place is its people, and however readily these may be separated in conceptual terms, in experience they are not easily differentiated." (Relph, 1976: 34) In Kensington Market, this connection becomes a kind of attachment, or more precisely, the Kensington spirit. T poignantly described this attachment:

In 1980 and 1981 I took over the store… In my whole life, I paid attention to people, human beings. They were important to me. The new technology I do not bother. There are people who helped me with the techy part. I am interested in the personal contact, because that is how it was done. Fifty years when we started our business, the owner knew all their customers. I think that every single customer should be recognized. if you have customers supporting you over the years, they deserve some kind of recognition. The only way we can recognize their shopping habits, their shopping pattern, if they come to my store, is to try to give them a discount, and make them feel important, and that is what I don't see in today's world, that the customer is not made important. Profit is important to stay in business, but it is not always important. Fifty years or forty years ago, when you came down to Kensington Market, the owner worked everyday. He knew what the customers wanted, and he carried the products the customers needed. And he had that personal love and that attachment to his customers.

When asked is this attachment has changed over the years, T responded affirmatively,

Yes, it has changed. ... There are lots of businesses in the world that we do not know about, businesses that are small, tribal businesses they grow certain food and vegetables near their area, then take it to their market place and sell it to their community. They play a very important role in the community by growing those vegetables and those fruits. They do the businesses for hundreds of hundreds of years the same way: they grow it, cultivate it, and they take it to the market place. it is not a big business, but it is a very important business that they do. I feel that small businesses that do business with the public should go back to the old method: know their customers, know their products, watch their expense, and like I said, reward your customers for coming and shopping with you. That is how I learn forty or fifty years ago in the Kensington market, and that's how it was. You build the relationship with your customers, and you build a bond. Their needs become your needs, and their problems become your problem.

Continuity: An Evolving and Cross-Generational Process

This enduring relationship between Kensington Market and its people also reflects a tenacious sense of continuity. Here family businesses run deep, so naturally, we see an evolving and cross-generational process (figure 66), with living actors that continue to make the place, so to make a living and public history. Authenticity grows out of a full awareness of places for what they are as products of human intentions and the meaningful settings for human activities. This continuity is concretized in how the place is interpreted, how the businesses are run, how faith and cultural values are inherited.

A lot of congregates were involved in building it, carpenters, bricklayers, as such. A few months ago we had a Bar Mitzvar. This boy's great grandfather was the carpenter involved in building the dome, so to have his great grandson stand underneath the dome, reading from Torah on the day of his Bar Mitzvar is very neat in terms of multi-generational connections.

--- L from the Kiev Synagogue

As Pillip said, my father carried on that business in very much the same way, very much a center of the community, and today, too, we carry it on the same way. Today I say to you, if you come here, not only for a delicious meal, but want to know if your sister-in-law is here, and just ask... (P interjected, "just ask her!")... (Laughing)... yes, I would tell you.

--- R from the United Bakers

Adding a time element, I find, continuity flourishes because of, not in spite of, the changes, as if one who drifts around leans on to permanence. This may seem counterintuitive, but it stands out as one of the most poignant aspects. T expressed his attitude towards the changing landscape:

(The Market) It was very Jewish, and now the Asian influx is very positive. Also the African influx... (now you have) a different life in the market. Now we have more eateries, clothing stores …market is evolving. We do not have many butcher shops, not many chicken stores. Now the market has got a different feel. You have more young people coming to the market. I hope they will appreciate what this market stands for, and what has gone into the market. How many lives were built up there, and how hard it was for a lot of people to start here forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, or eighty years ago. It was not easy... all were the small businesses, without money, so they took their life-savings, they took a risk. They were wonderful people. We had bakeries, dairies. They were very proud of what they were able to produce or make: that was very important. That piece of bread is the best bead in the city. If you told them the otherwise, they would take their coats off, put the apron on, the owner, does not matter how successful he was, he would prove to you that was a good bread. You do not have owners nowadays know how to bake, or how to make cheese, or the butcher was own by a butcher: he knows how to cut that piece of meat. They love what they are doing.

Even in changes of store ownership over the year, the new owners try to carry on the traditions of their predecessors. Max and Son, Meat Market, 206 Baldwin Street, is such an example (figure 67 and 68). Built in 1930, it is one of the few stores remaining from the days of Jewish Market. It started as the poultry shop, and the subsequent owners had more or less the similar type of business. Max and Solly Stern owned the store until September 2009 when I just began my field research. Peter Sanagan, a young energetic former chief, took over and redecorated the store. The newly published books on meat culture, elegantly arranged in the shelf, bring fresh air into the old store. However, the historic pictures (figure 69), carefully selected and presented on the wall, serve as a kind remainder of the historic roots of Max and Son. Peter enjoys chatting with the old customers, as if they share a genuine respect of what has brought the store today.

Many old stores in the Market keep selling similar kind of products over the years, accommodating a particular cultural group. They carry on both a cultural tradition and a family history. So the fourth theme comes into fore.

***Survivance*: Culturally Rooted**

The cultural and cross-cultural implications enrich and unify the previous themes. I have earlier introduced the idea of *survivance,* an idea of cultural maintenance corresponding to the preservation of religion, language, and customs from one's home culture, including a whole baggage of habits, customs, tendencies, learning, memories, political and religious affiliations, codes of conduct, educational practices. This idea finds expressions in the way the owners decorate the stores, the kind of products they sell, a particular group of people they service, and the languages they communicate in the stores.

As a whole, Kensington Market enjoys what Robert Harney observes, “all that is potentially rich in neighborhood terms – multi-racial harmony, commitment to quality, private initiative and an integration of employment and residential life for many who are there.” (Harney and Multicultural History Society of Ontario., 1981: 19)

I have tried to model the store after some of the stores that I have visited in Mexico when I was younger(figure 70). I do the same here. I think it works, because a lot of people tell me that when they come here, they feel they have come to Mexico. We just have our ways with people, and keep our customers friends... keep what my parents are doing, their way of running the store. It is also about not minding hard work, long hours.

--- S from Perola Supermarket

(We have been) selling the similar kind of products (figure 71), and we have all kinds of customers. We have black people from the Caribbean, and we have people from Africa, South America, and some Asian customers.

--- Yfrom Caribbean Corner

Most stores accommodate a particular group of people, just as the Kensington started when different immigrant groups created their own ethic and cultural enclaves. Today, people feel home at those store where they can speak their native languages with the storeowners and other customers. The memories are culturally transformed as well.

I hang out here on Kensington, Baldwin, College, or Spadina. My friends live in the area, and we went into each other's store. The market was in my blood, and it still is. I have fabulous memories of this place. My friends, my neighbors, they all love me, because they knew me since I was a kid. I knew my life was my business... because of the family influence, I knew I had to help my family. Yes, I still go back to Hungary. But I am living my dream. Canada allows me to live my dream: Canada has given me so much that I can never repay it. They give me dignity and respect. They allow me to be me, and the vehicle to have my own business, and to be able to operate my business. I could never have done this in Hungary. I stay, and I do not want to move.

---T from Tom’s Place

A Sense of Time and A Sense of Place: the Past is Not a Foreign Country[146]

This study suggests a different series of subtext through which a different plot emerges. Here a movingly beautiful flow of time is compressed into a neighborhood, expanded over three or four generations, yet is still unfolding itself. We need to listen into and collect place-centered narratives with a culturally critical ear. Here, as Kevin Lynch perceptively writes, "a sense of the stream of time is more valuable and more poignant and engaging than a formal knowledge of remote period." (Lynch, 1972: 237) If we think places in intimate human terms, urban landscape preservation indeed represents a positive social potential and creativity.

When connecting those sites into a narrative path, we see a living memoryscape. The memoryscape can add the critical edge to our trained perspectives and practices, and can also reveal what is invisible in the official interpretation of Kensington Market: a sense of place occurs when space takes on three dimensions, in other words, when they acquire *depth*: "Part of this depth is physical. A knowledge of place is grounded in those aspects of the environment which we appreciate through the senses and through movement: color, texture, slope, quality of light, the feel of wind, the sounds and scents carried by that wind." (Ryden, 1993: 38)

I started this study with a map of Kensington Market, a map that planners use to make plans. They update it every year to make it more scientifically precise. It is bland, dimensionless, stripped of human life stories. It is a planners' map, not a local residents' map. The poet Elizabeth Bishop identifies the limitations inherent in this kind of map: "It compresses the landscape's ambiguity into an arbitrary and simplified flatness – it is all surface, lacking depth. This lack of depth takes in the human dimension as well; just as

the map freezes the landscape in stasis so that waves no longer lap at beach and land no longer pulls at water." (Ryden, 1993: 21) Where the map fails, however, the imagination takes over. Bishop injects her poetic creativity on the map, and her poem enacts the perennial urge to connect with landscape in an imaginative, humane way.

In the similar vein, Angel Debeau's musical tour of old Toronto in her *Old Toronto Klezmer Suite* stands as an excellent example. [147] "Places served humankind as durable symbols of distant events and as indispensable aids for remembering and imagining them," says Basso, "If place-making is a way of constructing the past, a venerable means of doing human history, it is also a way of construction g social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities." (Basso, 1996: 7) Maps, based on this humanely narratives, show "the spirit of places, and they preserved the memory of how people felt about places" This is the kind of map we as planners need to make and use in planning for preservation.

In the end, what do I want to share with my fellow urban planners? We realize the gap between the skills/techniques we learned in academia as planners and use in planning practices and the voices of users of the places we try to preserve and plan. Public history behind the bricks and mortars is neither sufficiently addressed nor site-specific. To bridge this gap, we, as professionals, need to be emotionally identified with the place, and to cultivate a shared humanity with those whose personal ambitions heavily overlap with community responsibilities. It is also a process of moving from an outsider – a planner, a historian, a tourist – into an insider – a denizen – of the place. This study of Kensington Market is an example of the CSNA I suggested earlier: we can address the emotionally compelling issues embedded in an urban built environment

without compromising our academic or professional rigor. Kevin Lynch projected in 1972 that “a new profession may be developing: the manager of an ongoing environment (the spatial and temporal pattern of things and human actions), whose profession it is to help users to change it in ways that fit their purposes.”(Lynch, 1972: 239)

The following pictures, unless noted, are taken by Na Li.

Figure 55 Sanci's: Brickwork of Greek Cross, January 14, 2010

Figure 56 Interior of Sanci's Warehouse, January 14, 2010

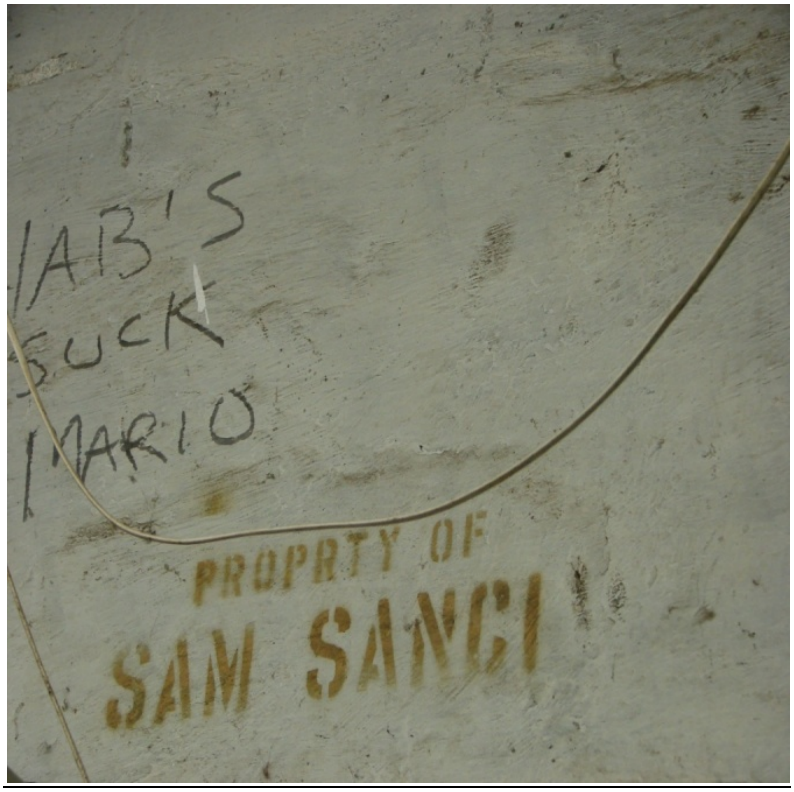


Figure 57 Sam Sanci, the Original Owner's Name on the Wall, January 14, 2010

Figure 58 Facade of Tom's Place, September 26, 2010

Figure 59 William's Bargain Second Hand Store Owned by Tom's Father, Courtesy: Tom Mihalik.

Figure 60 Perola Supermarket January 27, 2010

Figure 61 Interior of Perola Supermarket, January 27, 2010

Figure 62 Interior of House of Spice, January 21, 2010

Figure 63 Original Glass Front, January 21, 2010

Figure 64 Caribbean Corner Seen from across Baldwin Street, September 26, 2009

Figure 65 Interior of Caribbean Corner, January 21, 2010

Figure 66 Hebrew Calendar for the Kids at the United Bakers

A nice touch with Jewish root, Courtesy: Philip Ladovsky

Figure 67 Max and Son in 1970, 206 Baldwin Street, *Toronto Sun*

Figure 68 Max and Son Today, September 26, 2009

Figure 69 Historic Photographs on the Wall, January 14, 2010

Figure 70 Interior of Perola Supermarket, January 27, 2010

Figure 71 A Little Corner of the Caribbean, January 21, 2010

Y told me that over the years, she imported the same yams from Jamaica, where she originally came from.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: PRESERVING URBAN LANDSCAPES AS PUBLIC HISTORY

Might it also be possible to use environment to teach change instead of permanence – how the world constantly shifts in the context of the immediate past; which changes have been valuable, which not; how change can be externally effected; how change ought to occur in the future? Past flux might be communicated by marking out the successive locations of activities or populations or by representing the changing aspect of a single place. The lesson could be disturbing. Saving the past can be a way of learning for the future.

KEVIN LYNCH, *What Time is This Place?*

This study began with the question of what is missing from preserved or demolished urban landscapes, and situated the discussion in Kensington Market, Toronto. The interpretive policy analysis identified causes behind a failed urban renewal planning effort in Kensington Market in the 1960s. Based on the analysis, to better interpret and preserve the intangible values of built environments, I proposed a culturally sensitive narrative approach, and applied it in Kensington Market.

Proposition

Collective memory, a critical component of urban landscapes, has been analyzed, in relation to its material representation, the *place*. The following proposition is derived from this critical case study:

*The deeper that collective memory is integrated in communicative planning through narratives or storytelling, the greater the likelihood that **a**. urban landscapes can be identified with communities' senses of place, and **b**. preservation becomes an honest inquiry of history*.

Valuing collective memory scales urban landscapes down to a more grassroots level. Planners shift from being bureaucrats, officials, communicators, or facilitators to more complicated positions that listen, collect, and analyze the memories that support the spirit of urban places. Moreover, they make planning decisions based on those memories. Thus CSNA is primarily a bottom-up process. It shares certain similarities with Randall Mason's arguments for values-centered preservation planning, as both view culture as a dynamic and changing process (Mason 2006: 30), and both try to include a greater range of stakeholders for a holistic understanding of place (p. 35).

Values-centered preservation, however, is based on the premise that full knowledge of the values of a site – not just some of them, but all of them – will support the best decision-making processes (p. 37). Unfortunately, this premise does not hold. First, it does not define, in any clear way, how to identify and interpret different values of a place, a loaded term in itself. It is one thing to provide a rosy picture of universally recognized beliefs, but it is another thing to take practical steps to achieve that goal. Second, who is actually involved in understanding significance, developing policy, and managing changes? Preservation planners. Values-centered preservation, therefore, is largely a top-down planning process. How can planners identify and assess the values of a place without being part of that place? This sounds challenging, but this is why differs CNSA from other preservation planning models.

Steps in CSNA

Many issues confronted in Kensington Market are representative of preservation planning dilemmas that are still relevant today. The study also shows that CSNA is

culturally and politically sensitive, cross-disciplinary, but not necessarily expensive. It includes the following major steps:

1. Background information collection: quantitative and qualitative data on demographics, geography, economic development, architectural styles, material culture, and most important, *social history.*

2. Interpretive analysis: milestones in preservation planning policies, role of the public, results of *public participation,* and pivotal events influence the outcome of those policies.

3. Cultural immersion and field investigations: largely *ethnographic*, and can be carried out at different scales based on resources available. The goal is to transfer from an outsider to a denizen of the place.

4. Building *narratives*: identify key interview respondents, conduct oral history interviews, preferably in the field, and construct narratives.

5. *Reframing* preservation planning policies: distill themes from different narratives, and incorporate those themes to reframe preservation policy making (using local perspectives as the basic frame of reference).

6. Validating the analysis with the stakeholders though public meetings.

7. *Implementing* new preservation planning policies: keep the communicative interface between and among stakeholders (especially residents) open, and public debates alive.

Though not a general theory, the above seven steps can serve as a useful guide for urban landscape preservation and planning. The in-depth case study may also serve as a

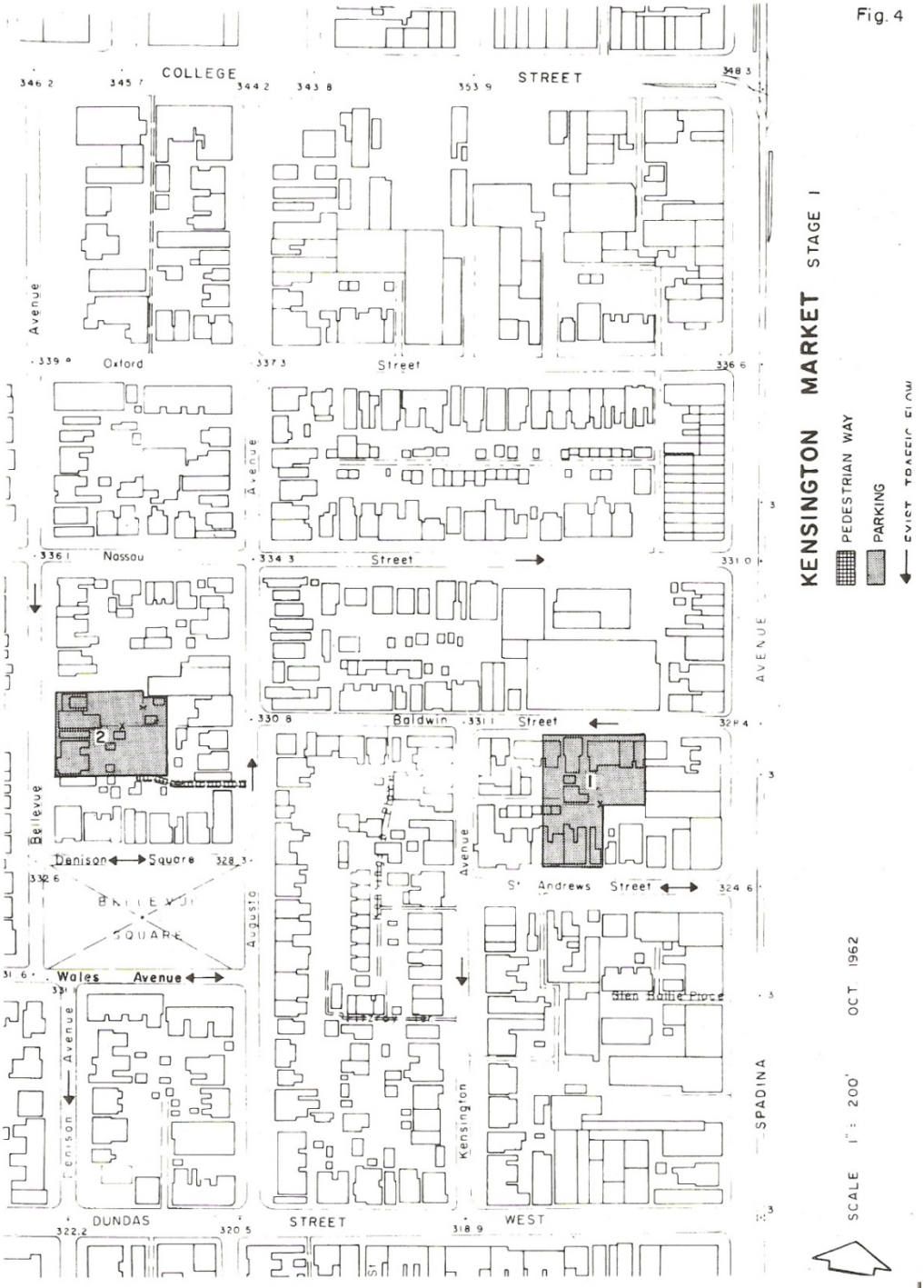
phenomenology for refining and further developing theories about urban landscape preservation.

The project of course has some limits. In the Kensington Market study, the fact that I do not understand Hebrew hinders, in some way, the material cultural analysis, especially at Kiev synagogue. Due to limited resources, I was not able to track more old residents who were conversant with Kensington Market but have moved out of the area. For the same reason, I did not carry out Step 5, 6, and 7 listed above. This last limitation, however, can become a blessing if put in a wider context. For places where public participation cannot be carried out at a full scale, or public voices are still left silent, which means they are excluded from policy-making structure, planners can at least included local narratives, and document those narratives for future use. Kevin Lynch writes about this with a unique vision, "Saving the past can be a way of learning for the future, just as people change themselves by learning something now that they may employ later."(Lynch, 1972: 43)

The bottom line is that urban landscapes should be interpreted and preserved as public history, and the most efficient way to achieve this seems deceptively simple and matter of fact: local residents should be encouraged to record memories of their neighborhoods. The planner's task, therefore, is to help the public better understand the built environments in which they reside, to expand their individual perspectives to collective ones, and ultimately, to preserve a past to which they are emotionally committed.

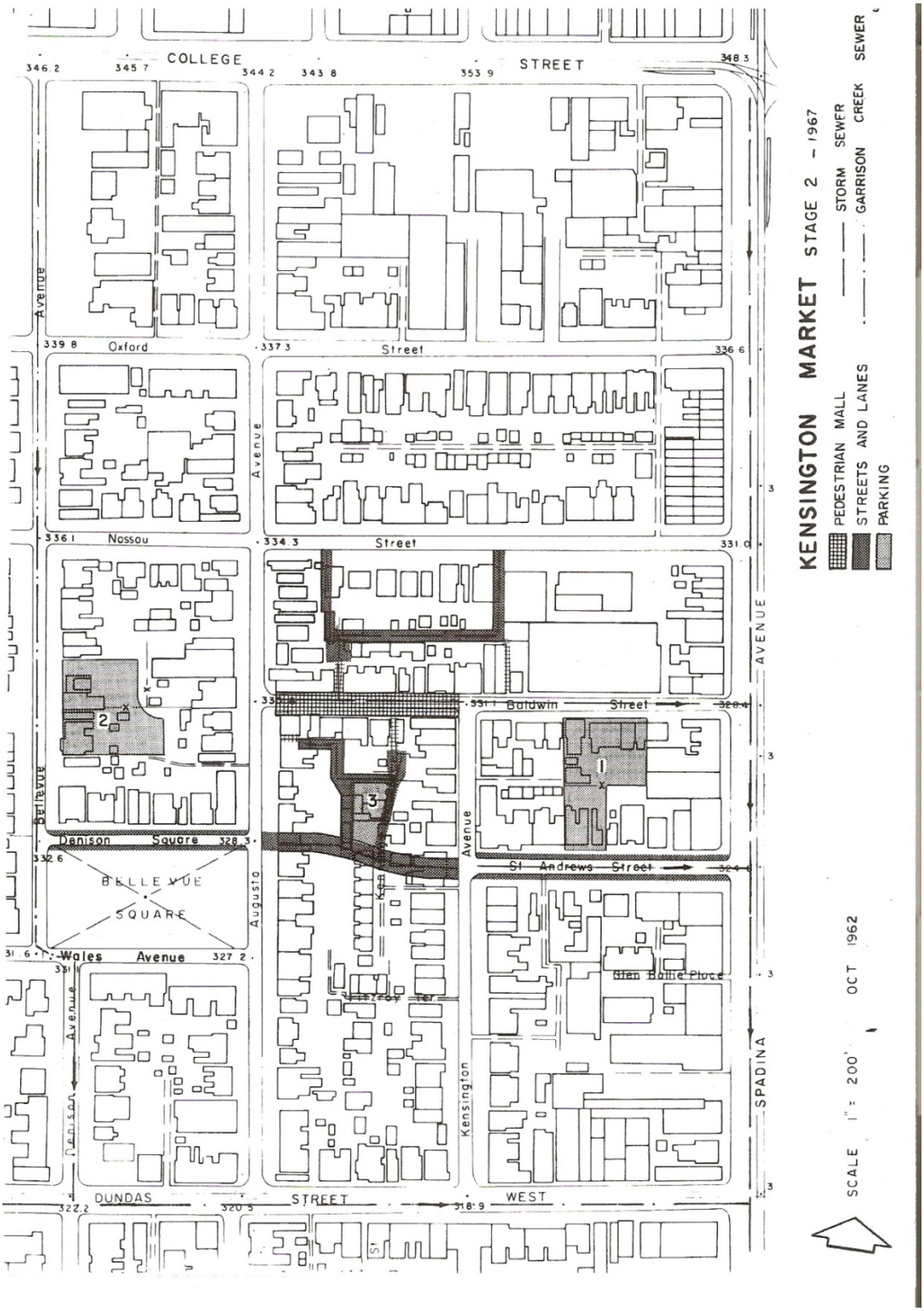
APPENDIX 1

KENSINGTON MARKET PLAN STAGE I 1962



APPENDIX 2

KENSINGTON MARKET PLAN STAGE II 1967



APPENDIX 3

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWING OUTLINE FOR

KENSINGTON MARKET STUDY

Biographic Information and Family Heritage (Life-history)

1 When/where were you born?
2 Do you have any siblings (names, marriage status, and occupations)?
3 Can we talk about your grandparents? Let's start with your grandmother.
1) Can you describe her character?
2) Were you close to her? What kind of work did she do? (Kensington Market-related)
3) How were her relations with the neighbors/the community?
4) (repeat for grandfather)
4 Can we talk about your parents? Let's start with your mother.
5 Can we talk about your brothers and/or sisters?
6 What do you remember about your first home in Kensington Market?
7 Could you describe the community you were in at the time?
8 Could you describe the neighborhood to me?
9 Did neighbors help each other? In what way?

History of the Place

1 How did this store start? Could you tell me more about its history and its predecessors?
2 Why did you (or your grandparents or parents) choose Kensington Market to start up the business?
3 How is business going on today?
4 What kind of customers does the store service? Changed? (catering to more multicultural ethnic groups or a specific cultural group)
5 Have you renovated the building? If yes, how?
6 This area used to be a predominantly Jewish place back in the 1930s and 1940s: do you still remember how it looked like?
7 Did you feel connected to the community?
8 How do you like the market today?

9 Could you tell me more about its change since you started the store/or moved here?

Settlement and Neighborhood (to connect memories and place)

1. Why did you/your parents choose Kensington as home?
2. What type of housing did you and your family live? What was the cost of rent as percentage of pay at the time?
3. Could you describe the problems with housing then (financial, discomfort, overcrowding)?
4. Have you renovated the house/apartment ever since? How?
5. Do you still remember how Kensington looked like when you first lived here?
6. Have you been back to your home country?
7. How did you feel about being back, if yes?
8. Could you tell me one or two most memorable events in the neighborhood? Why?

Space & Time (to elicit memory)

1. What are the boundaries of this community?
2. What is the focal point of the neighborhood?
3. Could you describe some interesting places around Kensington Market?
4. Have some of those landmarks/interesting places disappeared over the years? Why?
5. How has the community changed since you have lived there?
6. Do you still remember the places you hang-out together (with families or friends)? Do those places still exist? Modified? Demolished? Why? Do you miss those places?
7. What do you think the future of Kensington Market will be like?

APPENDIX 4

INTERVIEW DATA SHEET

SITE DESCRIPTION	ADDRESS	INTERVIEWEE NAME	GENDER	RELATION TO THE SITE	TIME	LENGTH	INTERVIEWER	DATA SOURCE
Saigon Pearl Restaurant	2 Kensington Ave		F	Frequent		less than 10 minutes	murmur/kensington	secondary
Courage My Life	14 Kensington Ave		M & F	Current owner of Courage My Life		less than 10 minutes	murmur/kensington	secondary
17 Kensington Ave	17 Kensington Ave		M			less than 10 minutes	murmur/kensington	secondary
Kensington Place	30 Kensington Ave	Steward Scriver	M	Old tenant, and now owner of 14 Kensington		less than 10 minutes	murmur/kensington	secondary
Essence of Life	50 Kensington Ave	Sandy Lu	F	daughter of current owner	27-Jan-10	15-30 minutes	Li Na	primary
Sanci's	66 Kensington Ave	David Borg	M	Fourth generation of Sanci's family	14-Jan-10	30-45 minutes	Li Na	primary
Global Cheese	76 Kensington Ave	Jennifer Dasilva	F	Manager of Global Cheese	14-Jan-10	30-45 minutes	Li Na	primary
183 Augusta Ave	183 Augusta Ave		M			less than 10 minutes	murmur/kensington	secondary
House of Spice	190 Augusta Ave	Carlos Pereria	M	Manager of House of Spice	21-Jan-10	30-45 minutes	Li Na	primary
236 Augusta Ave	236 Augusta Ave		M			less than 10 minutes	murmur/kensington	secondary
ZImmerman's	241 Augusta Ave	Zimmerman	M			10-15 minutes	Li Na	Primary
Perola's	247 Augusta Ave	Sidonio Freitas	M	Curnet owner, second generation	26-Jan-10	45-60 minutes	Li Na	primary
249 Augusta Ave	249 Augusta Ave	Warren Morris	M			less than 10 minutes	murmur/kensington	secondary
274 Augusta Ave	274 Augusta Ave		M			less than 10 minutes	murmur/kensington	secondary
Kensington Market in general	Baldwin St	Mel Lastman	M			45-60 minutes	Ellen Scheinberg	secondary OJA AC # 290
Caribbean Corner	171 Baldwin St	Yvonne Grant	F	Current owner of Caribbean Corner	21-Jan-10	15-30 minutes	Li Na	primary
My Market Bakery	172 Baldwin St		F	Current owner of Market Bakery & Cheese Maggie		10-15 minutes	Li Na	primary
European Quality Meats and Sausages	178 Baldwin St	Sydney Palmer	M	Tenant		less than 10 minutes	murmur/kensington	secondary
Tom's Place	190 Baldwin St	Tom Mihalik	M	Current owner of Tom's Place		45-60 minutes	Li Na	Primary
New Seaway Fish Market	195 Baldwin St	Mike	M	Current owner	14-Jan-10	15-30 minutes	Li Na	primary
Max and Son's	206 Baldwin St	Peter Sanagan	M	Current owner of Max and Son's	14-Jan-10	30-45 minutes	Li Na	primary
Apartment above Moonbean Coffee	30 St Andrew St	Chris Williamson & Timber Masterson	M & F	Old tenants of 30 St Andrew		less than 10 minutes	murmur/kensington	secondary
Hyman's Bookstore I	371 Spadina Ave							
Hyman's Bookstore II	412 Spadina Ave	Gurion & Ruth Hyman	M & F	Third generation of Hyman family	13-Oct-09	abt 3 hours	Li Na	primary
United Bakers Diary Restaurant I	338 Spadina Ave							Primary
United Bakers Diary Restaurant II	506 Lawrence Ave W	Philip Ladovsky	M	Third generation of UB owner	21-Oct-09	30-45 minutes	Li Na	Primary
United Bakers Dairy Restaurant II	506 Lawrence Ave W	Ruthie Ladovsky	F	Third generation of UB owner	8-Dec-09	30-45 minutes	Li Na	Primary
Kiev Synagogue	25 Bellevue Ave	Aaron Levy	M	Current Rabbi & Spiritual leader of Kiev	Oct 26 & 29, 2009	abt 2 hours	Li Na	primary
Kiev Synagogue	25 Bellevue Ave	BB Smith	M	Family involved in founding Kiev Synagogue	9-Dec-74	45-60 minutes	Sophie Milgram	secondary OJA # AC-2
Kiev Synagogue	25 Bellevue Ave	David Pinkus	M	Founder of Kiev Synagogue	19-Dec-09	60 minutes	Li Na	Primary but unrecorded

APPENDIX 5

CERTIFICATION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS APPROVAL

University of Massachusetts Amherst
108 Research Administration Bldg.
70 Butterfield Terrace
Amherst, MA 01003-9242

Research Compliance
Human Research Protection Office (HRPO)
Telephone: (413) 545-3428
FAX: (413) 577-1728

Certification of Human Subjects Approval

Date: January 13, 2010
To: Na Li, Landscape Arch Regional Plan
Other Investigator: Elisabeth Hamin, Landscape Arch Regional Plan
From: Priscilla Clarkson, Chair, UMASS IRB

Protocol Title:Preserving Urban Landscapes as Public History
--- A Qualitative Study of the Kensington Area, Toronto
Protocol ID: 2009-0492
Review Type:EXPEDITED - NEW
Paragraph ID: 7
Approval Date: 01/13/2010
Expiration Date:01/12/2011
OGCA #:

This study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Massachusetts Amherst IRB, Federal Wide Assurance # 00003909. Approval is granted with the understanding that investigator(s) are responsible for:

Modifications - All changes to the study (e.g. protocol, recruitment materials, consent form, additional key personnel), must be submitted for approval in e-protocol before instituting the changes. New personnel must have completed CITI training.

Consent forms - A copy of the approved, validated, consent form (with the IRB stamp) must be used to consent each subject. Investigators must retain copies of signed consent documents for six (6) years after close of the grant, or three (3) years if unfunded.

Adverse Event Reporting - Adverse events occurring in the course of the protocol must be reported in e-protocol as soon as possible, but no later than five (5) working days.

Continuing Review - Studies that received Full Board or Expedited approval must be reviewed three weeks prior to expiration, or six weeks for Full Board. Renewal Reports are submitted through e-protocol.

Completion Reports - Notify the IRB when your study is complete by submitting a Final Report Form in e-protocol.

Consent form (when applicable) will be stamped and sent in a separate e-mail. Use only IRB approved copies of the consent forms, questionnaires, letters, advertisements etc. in your research.

Please contact the Human Research Protection Office if you have any further questions. Best wishes for a successful project.

APPENDIX 6

INFORMED CONSENT

The University of Massachusetts Amherst

Human Subjects Institutional Review Board

Informed Consent

Study Title: Preserving Urban Landscapes as Public History –A Qualitative Study of the Kensington Area, Toronto

Investigator: Li Na, University of Massachusetts Amherst

Introduction: I am doing a research study about collective memory and urban landscapes in the Kensington area. The research is to understand how memory and urban space has mutually shape and reshape each other, and to provide new insights in preserving your community. I hope to publish the result of this study in scholarly journals.

Process: If you decide that you want to be part of this study, you will be asked to do an interview – talking and answering questions for about 30-45 minutes. I will tape-record our interview unless you do not want me to do so. Most of the questions are open-ended. You do not have to answer a question if it makes you uncomfortable. You can stop the recording at any time and can ask for it to be erased if necessary. If you do not understand a question, you can always ask me to explain it until it makes sense. Most important, there are no right or wrong answers to the questions I will ask – I want to hear what you think.

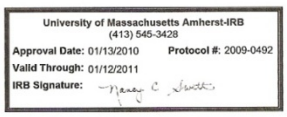
Confidentiality: I will make every effort to protect your privacy. I will not use your name in any of the information I get from this study or in any of my research report. Any information I get in this study that lets me know who you are will be recorded with a pseudonym (false name).

Benefits: There are no direct benefits to participation in this project. You participation will help the researcher understand how memory and built environment are connected, and how this connection can help understand and preserve the community history. When we are finished with this study, I will send you a brief report about what is learned.

Your rights: You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to be. You will not be treated differently if you decide not to be in the study. If you decide to stop after we begin, that is fine, too. If have any questions or concerns about being in this study, please reach me:

E-mail address: na@larp.umass.edu

Phone number: 413-230-4542 (USA), 416-655-3967 (Canada)



Mailing address is: 109 Hills North, University of Massachusetts Amherst, MA 01003, USA, or RM 807, 360 Assiniboine Rd. Toronto, ON. M3J1L3, Canada

If you have any concerns about your rights as a participant in this study, or if you would like to speak with someone not directly involved in the research study, you may contact the Human Research Protection Office at the University of Massachusetts via email at humansubjects@ora.umass.edu; telephone (413) 545-3428 (English speaking only); or mail at the Human Research Protection Office, Research Administration Building, University of Massachusetts Amherst, 70 Butterfield Terrace, Amherst, MA 01003-9242.

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT AND SIGN BELOW IF YOU AGREE

When signing this form I am agreeing to voluntarily enter this study. I have had a chance to read this consent form, and it was explained to me in a language which I use and understand. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have received satisfactory answers. I will keep one copy of this signed Informed Consent Form and return the other to Li Na.

_____

Informant's Name (Print)

_____ _____

Signature Date

INVESTIGATOR STATEMENT

I have explained the purpose of the research, the study procedures, the possible risks and discomforts, the possible benefits, and have answered any questions to the best of my ability.

_____

Signature: Li Na Date

University of Massachusetts Amherst-IRB
(413) 545-3428
Approval Date: 01/13/2010 Protocol #: 2009-0492
Valid Through: 01/12/2011
IRB Signature:

NOTES

[1] Peter Vstinov, 1987.

[2] Jan Morris writes in the Forward to *Toronto: The Way It Was* ,"Half the world, it often seems, has settled in Toronto, whether by choice or by circumstance; and most of contemporary humanity's aspirations, I think, whether they are expressed in supermarket abundance, political urbanity or a mere yearning for easy-going, mind-your-own-business, evenings-before-the-TV lack of passion, have chosen to settled in this city too." Kluckner, M. (1988) *Toronto, the way it was.* Whitecap Books, Toronto.

[3] The practice of historic preservation in the United States extended back to the 19th century, but arguably, it gained the official recognition as a field in the 1960s, when National Historic Preservation Act was passed (in 1966).

[4] Refer to Michael Holleran's *Roots in Boston, Branches in Planning and Parks*, and Randall Mason's *Historic Preservation, Public Memory, and the Making of Modern New York City* in Page, M. and R. Mason (2004) *Giving preservation a history : histories of historic preservation in the United States.* Routledge, New York.

[5] A *construct* is a latent variable, which helps explicates the relations with other concepts, by they antecedents, consequents, or concomitant ones.

[6] See Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 12, 219-45.

[7] For predictive theory, universals, and scientism, the study of human affairs is, thus, at an eternal beginning. In essence, we have only specific cases and context-dependent knowledge.

Misunderstanding 1: General, theoretical (context-independent) knowledge is more valuable than concrete, practical (context-dependent) knowledge—can therefore be revised as follows: Predictive theories and universals cannot be found in the study of human affairs. *Reformulation*: Concrete, context-dependent knowledge is, therefore, more valuable than the vain search for predictive theories and universals.

Misunderstanding 2: One cannot generalize on the basis of an individual case; therefore, the case study cannot contribute to scientific development. The balanced view of the role of the case study in attempting to generalize by testing hypotheses has been formulated by Eckstein (1975): Comparative and case studies are alternative means to the end of testing theories, choices between which must be largely governed by arbitrary or practical, rather than logical, considerations [italics added]. . . . It is impossible to take seriously the position that case study is suspect because problem-prone and comparative study deserving of benefit of doubt because problem-free.(pp. 116, 131; see also Barzelay, 1993)

*Misunderstanding 3***:** The case study is most useful for generating hypotheses; that is, in the first stage of a total research process, whereas other methods are more suitable for hypotheses testing and theory building.

Misunderstanding 4: The case study contains a bias toward verification, that is, a tendency to confirm the researcher's preconceived notions. Geertz (1973) said about the fieldwork involved in most in-depth case studies that "The Field" itself is a "powerful disciplinary force: assertive, demanding, even coercive" (p. 119). Like any such force, it can be underestimated, but it cannot be evaded. "It is too insistent for that," says Geertz. The case study contains no greater bias toward verification of the researcher's preconceived notions than other methods of inquiry. On the contrary, experience indicates that the case study contains a greater bias toward falsification of preconceived notions than toward verification.

Misunderstanding 5: It is often difficult to summarize and develop general propositions and theories on the basis of specific case studies. *Reformulation*: It is correct that summarizing case studies is often difficult, especially as concerns case process. It is less correct as regards case outcomes. The problems in summarizing case studies, however, are due more often to the properties of the reality studied than to the case study as a research method. Often it is not desirable to summarize and generalize case studies. Good studies should be read as narratives in their entirety.

[8] This is because the typical or average case is often not the richest in information. Atypical or extreme cases often reveal more information because they activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situation studied. See Strategies for the Selection of Samples and Cases (table), in Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 12, 219-45.

[9] To build a "critical case" is to achieve information that permits logical deductions of the type, i.e. "if this is (not) valid for this case, then it applies to all (no) cases." *Ibid*.

[10] Webs of significance: Our day-to-day lives are replete with layers upon layers of meaning, woven together in complex symbolic system. All human action is suspended in webs of significance that can be apprehended only by grasping the specific local interpretations engaged in by the natives themselves. It is like trying to read a manuscript – foreign, faded, full of ellipse, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalized graphs of sound but transient examples of shaped behavior". Geertz, C. (1973) *The interpretation of cultures; selected essays*. Basic Books, New York. P. 43.

[11] See details of Kensington Market in Chapter Three: *The Study Area: Kensington Market*.

[12] The Historic Sites and Monuments of Canada (HSMBC), created in 1919, advises the Minister of the Environment about the national historic significances of places, persons, and events that have marked Canada's history. Almost 80% of the subjects considered by the Board are nominated by the public. When forwarding a positive recommendation to the Minister, the Board also provides advice on erecting a commemorative plaque. For more information about HSMBC, http://www.pc.gc.ca/clmhc-hsmbc/clmhc-hsmbc/index_E.asp

[13] The letter from Dr. Carlos Teiseira to Dr. Michel Audy, Executive Secretary, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, March 24, 2003. Courtesy of HSMBC.

[14] Prior to site selection, I have conducted a general literature review on the studies about Kensington Market. The review includes: architectural inventory of the buildings along the key streets in the Kensington (Architectural Conservancy of Ontario), existing oral history data mainly from OJA and MHSO, Immigrant settlement history in general and Jewish history in particular, as well as a series unpublished manuscripts (City of Toronto Archives, Archives of Ontario). Buildings within the boundary of the designated districts are documented by HSMBC.

[15] Planning researchers adopt different terms, such as argumentative, linguistic, or rhetorical turn, to describe essentially the same collective efforts to provide alternative perspectives to the modernist rational concept of planning. James Throgmoron suggests that it is closely related to Harbermas' effort to reconstruct the dialectic of the Enlightenment in terms of communicative reason, to Gadamer's call for dialogue oriented toward a fusion of horizons, to Rorty's pragmatic conception of rationality as civility, to Lyotard's reference to the breakdown of all grand narratives, to Focult's interpretation of professionalized discursive formation as will-to-power to Derride's claim that scientific texts can be deconstructed as works of literature, to Geertz's emphasis on the locality and contextuality fo knowledge, to recent efforts to explore the rhetorical nature of scientific inquiry and professional practice (Throgmorton, 1992, p. 29 notes). I would argue they emphasize the humane dimension of planning practice, which has been ignored right from the professional's institutional context and historical roots. My later analysis of the storytelling in planning will prove this argument.

[16] Dvora Yanow's broadens the policy interpretations from traditional literal texts to include spaces created or built in response to policy mandates. She argues that agency buildings may be seen as telling policy stories. Yanow, D. (1995) Built space as story: The policy stories that buildings tell. *Policy Studies Journal* 23, 407-22. A growing body of work has started to deal with the narrative, rhetorical, and textual character of political theory and policy analysis, as the literature review in Chapter Two suggests.

The following literature explores in particular the human and social meaning of built space: Lang, J.T. (1974) *Designing for human behavior : architecture and the behavioral sciences. Edited by Jon Lang [and others]*. Dowden, Stroudsburg, Pa.,, Rapoport, A. (1976) *The mutual interaction of people and their built environment : a cross-cultural perspective*. Mouton ;
distributed in the USA and Canada by Aldine, The Hague
Chicago, Steele, F. (1981) *The sense of place*. CBI Pub. Co., Boston, Mass, Zeisel, J. (1981) *Inquiry by design : tools for environment-behavior research*. Brooks/Cole Pub. Co., Monterey, Calif, Rapoport, A. (1982) *The meaning of the built environment : a nonverbal communication approach*. Sage Publications, Beverly Hills.

[17] The Kensington Area Residents Association was formed in 1967, providing coordination for residents trying to save the community and individual homes. Although opposed to sweeping demolition of existing housing, the residents did see the need for renewal efforts in the community. They prefer a community oriented approach so the renewal would maintain the historical streetscape and identity of the neighborhood. With its help, an Urban Renewal Committee, composed of residents, businessmen, and the Ward Alderman, was formed to advise city council on matters affecting the Kensington area. Wallace, M. (1999) Planning Amidst Adversity: The Challenges of Multiculturalism in Urban and Suburban Greater Toronto. *A thesis presented to the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada*.

[18] Jo Blatti suggests an alternative model to the traditional one based on the conventions of professional scholarship, and he asked the following questions, which I find helpful in framing the questions I plan to ask in my interviewees:

- Does the work present individual's testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?
- Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work?
- Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?
- Does the work provides clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?
- In sum, does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role?

Blatti, J. (1990) Public History and Oral History. *The Journal of American History* 77, 615-25.

[19] Refer to the attached Oral History Interviewing for Kensington Study.

[20] The Study was officially approved by Human Subject Institutional Review Board (IRB) and Human Research Protection Office (HRPO) at the University of Massachusetts Amherst on January 13, 2010. Refer to the attached *Informed Consent*, and *Certification of Human Subjects Approval*.

[21] They include: Ontario Jewish Archives, Multicultural History Society of Ontario, City of Toronto Archives, Archives of Ontario, Library and Archives Canada (Ottawa), Toronto Reference Library, Lillian H. Smith Library (near Kensington), St. Stephens' House Kensington Alive Exhibit, Murmur/Kensington, and etc.

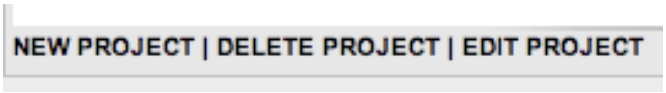
[22] One comes from Ontario Jewish Archives: Mel Lastman was interviewed by Ellen Scheinberg, Director for Ontario Jewish Archives, in 2006. Ellen also suggested a few potential interviewees, most of whom are family members of the selected sties, such as Hyman family and current owners of the United Bakers.

[23] Refer to Appendices 4. *Interview Data Sheet*

[24] *Stories Matter* works as a hierarchical structure. Below is the basic icons:

A project encapsulates interviews, sessions, clips and playlists according to the predetermined needs of the user. Once a *New Project* is created, users will be required to enter information into four different spaces. The first space requires that the user give their new project a *name*. The second space requires the user to fill in *a short description* of their project, which will later appear on the starting page of Stories Matter in the *project list.* The third space requires the user to fill in a more thorough *description*, which will be displayed on the right hand side of the ***project list***. Finally, the user should load a relevant image for the project.

To edit or delete a project once it has been created, users can select the relevant option from the *breadcrumbs* appearing along the bottom of the project list.



Project Breadcrumbs

The next layer users need to become familiar with is that of the *interviewee*. Double-clicking on the *new interview* icon or text will allow the user to begin adding information related to the interview. The following interface will appear.

At this point, several spaces appear that require the user to input information about the interviewee. Of primary importance is the *interviewee* space, which allows the user to see key information related to the context of the interviewee, such as a brief *summary* of the subjects discussed, the *biographical information* of the interviewee, and any relevant *index terms.*

The *summary* field is intended to provide users with a brief description of the contents of the interview. Text entered in the *interviewee biographical information* field will appear both here and in a box located to the right of the interview list when users select an interview by clicking once on the associated icon or text. This feature is intended to focus users' attention on the interviewee's life history and will allow users to browse through interviewee profiles when deciding which interview to select. Finally, users can enter *comma-separated tags*, also called index terms. These tags serve two purposes: they are referenced when users search for specific topics, events, and places, for example, and they will be used to generate a *tag cloud* that will highlight key themes discussed by interviewees.

The breadcrumbs located along the bottom of the interviewee space allow the user to add additional information related to their *reflections (reflection space allows users to comment on their experiences of conducting or listening to interviews with a particular interviewee)* on the interviewee and any important *meta-narrative* (allows users to comment on displays of emotion or body language that they find relevant to the issues at discussion) features that might be present.

The next layer of information in Stories Matter relates to the different interviews, or *sessions* conducted with each interviewee. The *sessions* helps organize all the interviews done with the same interviewee, or site. Users have the option of adding one or multiple *sessions* to any interviewee entered in the software. When the Session Editor appears, the user is required to assign a *session name* (usually the name of the interviewee and the session number), and *session description*. The next step is to assign the relevant *session media*. Once complete, the user should select *save session*. (It is important to note that the session media MUST be in either mp3 or FLV format to be compatible. I am using SONY IC Recorder: model NO. ICD-PX 720)

In the Session Space, users are now faced with several options for inputing information about the session they are interacting with. The *interviewee space* includes several fields for details related to the interviewee. The *summary* field allows users to input or read a brief description of topics being discussed in the session. The *location* field records where the session was conducted, while the *date* field gives the day, month and year that the session was recorded. The *language* field refers to the language the interviewee is speaking in the session. The *original medium* field references the format of the master recording in the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling archives. Finally, users can enter *comma-separated tags*. These tags serve two purposes: they are referenced when users search for specific topics, events, and places, for example, and they will be used to generate a *tag cloud* that will highlight key themes discussed by interviewees.

The breadcrumbs located along the bottom of the sessions space can be selected to bring up additional windows where users can input information about the interviewer(s), interviewee, reflections, and meta-narrative, and upload attachments of relevance to the session.

Session breadcrumbs

The *transcript* space provides users with a place to transcribe individual sessions.

There is an interviewer space that allows users to preserve information regarding a maximum of two interviewers who participated in the session, such as name, address, date of birth, telephone, e-mail address and any additional points of relevance to the project. For this project, I am the only interviewer, so this space is not fully used.

Finally, users have the option of *uploading documents* of relevance to the session or interviewee, such as consent forms, online articles, or scanned photos.

The media player allows the user to interact with the session. The user can *play* or *pause* the audio or video file. Users can also skip forward and backward in the session by one second at a time by selecting the < or > buttons. The green bar allows the user to keep track of where they are in the session. The numbers in the bottom right hand corner of the media player show the exact running time and duration of the session in an *hour:minute:second:millisecond* format.

The breadcrumbs along the bottom of the media player allow the user to edit and delete sessions as well.

Media Player Breadcrumbs

The ability to create and edit clips. Clips are intended to allow users to locate specific points in a session where the interviewee discusses subject matter that fits with the user's specific research interests. Existing clips can be edited by selecting edit clip or delete clip from the breadcrumbs along the bottom of the media player.

Users can also generate a clip thumbnail by selecting *create clip thumbnail.* This thumbnail will appear in the tools space when the user views the clip list. An additional new feature is the clip list in the bottom left hand corner of the software. Any clips created within a session will appear in the clip list, located in the tools space to the lower left of the media player.

The clip list will show the clip thumbnail, name, and description. Double-clicking on a clip in the clip list will load that clip in the media player and allow the user to edit or delete the clip in question. Users can also enter relevant information in the clip spaces. Beneath the media player, users can note any reflections they have after listening to the clip.

Users can also enter *comma-separated tags* in the reflection space. These will be referenced by the software when users conduct searches or generate a tag cloud to highlight key themes in interviewees narratives. By selecting *meta-narrative* from the breadcrumbs along the bottom of the clips space, the meta-narrative field will appear, allowing users to comment on relevant displays of emotion or body language.

The *tag cloud* is a very unique feature. As users add *comma-separated tags* to the interviewee, session and clip layers within Stories Matter, the software will compile these. Should the user be interested in determining which themes are being focused upon by the interviewee, then selecting *tag cloud* from the breadcrumbs located along the bottom of the tools space will show all the tags, but make those that are entered into the software more often appear larger than those that are mentioned only occasionally. This feature can serve to make oral historians more aware of the subjects that are being highlighted in an interview. However, the responsibility remains with the oral historian to determine whether this emphasis is due to the interests of the interviewee or the researcher.

Source: Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada.

[25] All the interview data are documented in and analyzed with Stories Matter (Phase I).

[26] I borrow this method of keeping separate field notes from Spradley, J.P. (1979) *The ethnographic interview*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York. The last point comes from Kirk, J. and M.L. Miller (1986) *Reliability and validity in qualitative research*. Sage Publications, Beverly Hills.

[27] The practice of historic preservation in the United States extended back to the 19th century, but it gained the official recognition as a field in the 1960s, arguably when the National Historic Preservation Act was passed in 1966.

[28] In a comprehensive review essay, Joseph Heathcott lists the important works that have contributed to preservation study, which include Art Ziegler, *Historic Preservation in Inner City Areas* (1971); Deirdre Stanforth with photographs by Louis Reens, *Restored America* (1975); Tony Wrenn and Elizabeth Malloy, *America's Forgotten Architecture* (1976); Nathan Weinberg, *Preservation in American Towns and Cities* (1979); Richard Reed, *Return to the City* (1979); and the influential *Readings in Historic Preservation*, edited by Norman Williams Jr., Edmund Kellogg, and Frank Gilbert (1983). Heathcott, J. (2006) Review Essay: Curating the City: Challenges for Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century. *Journal of Planning History* 5, 75-83.

[29] Murtagh "set the bar" *Ibid.*, for the subsequent intellectual forays into the field.

[30] Refer to Michael Holleran's *Roots in Boston, Branches in Planning and Parks*, and Randall Mason's *Historic Preservation, Public Memory, and the Making of Modern New York City* in Page, M. and R. Mason (2004) *Giving preservation a history : histories of historic preservation in the United States*. Routledge, New York.

[31] Leuchtenburg quotes John Higham in the discussion of the historian and the public realm. Leuchtenburg, W.E. (1992) The Historian and the Public Realm. *American Historical Review* 97, 1-18.

[32] Despite some counter-examples such as the early efforts from Congress to save African American history in 1943, and the1966 act to include some ethnic minority interests in the massive urban renewal projects of the time, the emphasis remains on the visible elites in minority group rather than the vernacular environment associated with culturally and socially marginalized.

[33] See the website for Colonial Williamsburg, http://www.history.org/Almanack/places/hb/hbslave.cfm.

[34] The widening social perspective of preservation has earned its attention across the world. Many countries have expanded their preservation ordinances from protecting national symbols and monumental structures to ethnic neighborhoods and traditional/vernacular architecture.

[35] Cities such as Beijing and Moscow are typical in this genre. See Li, N. (2010) Preserving Urban Landscapes as Public History: The Chinese Context. *The Public Historian* 32.

[36] Refer to Antoinette j. Lee's *The Social and Ethnic Dimensions of Historic Preservation* in Stipe, R.E. (2003) *A richer heritage : historic preservation in the twenty-first century*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

[37] The sense of complex that we may gain from studying history can perhaps better be utilized through scenario building than through attempts to produce quantified forecasts. History makes us aware of the interrelations of technical, economic, social, cultural, and political factors. Scenario building in one sense is history in reverse; focused on the future, it utilizes the same combination of disparate pieces of information within a broad context to create an understandable narrative of events… Abbott, C. and S. Adler (1989) Historical Analysis As A Planning Tool. *American Planning Association.Journal of the American Planning Association* 55, 467.

[38] Discourse about preservation planning seems ineffective in defining how preservation is essentially part of planning. The reason may lie in, as Cofesi and Radtke observed, the word "planning" is used differently in differently contexts. Please refer to their argument on this from Stipe, R.E. (2003) *A richer heritage : historic preservation in the twenty-first century*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill. p.136-140

[39] This does not have to be the extreme versions such as historic traumas, but refers to different interpretations of the same historic events. My intention is that, if we could demonstrate the extremity, the rest would become easy to argue. Therefore, we relax the assumption, because of the challenges confronting preservation planners, who are working on/planning the future of the contested past, are different. Balancing the competing values have to be *locally* defined.

[40] Sandercock breaks this statement into the following six components: First, there is a temporal or sequential framework, which often involves a ticking clock to provide dramatic tension. Second, there is an element of explanation or coherence, rather than a catalogue of one thing after another. Third, there is some potential for generalizability, for seeing the universal in the particular, the world in a grain of sand.1 Fourth, there is the presence of recognized, generic conventions that relate to an expected framework, a plot structure and protagonists. Fifth, moral tension. Sandercock, L. (2003) Out of the Closet: The Importance of Stories and Storytelling in Planning Practice. *Planning Theory & Practice* 4, 11.

[41] i.e. Figures of speech and arguments.

[42] See Elisabeth Hamin's Interpretive Planning Model. Hamin, E.M. (2003) *Mojave lands : interpretive planning and the national preserve*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

[43] Raymond Williams explores this pattern in the following aspects: the middle classes over less powerful groups; the male gender and heterosexuality as against women or sexual minorities; majority lifestyles over diverse, multicultural complexities; cities over the countryside, or overarching bioregional realities; the artefacts of high culture – including architecture – over history, archaeology and cultural landscapes; 'settler' culture over indigenous cultures and values in post-colonial settings; in general, 'dominant' culture over the claims of 'residual' or 'emergent'culture. Williams, R. (1966) *Culture and society, 1780-1950*. Penguin Books, [Harmondsworth, Mddx.]. Instead of a broad analysis of integrating culture in different social inquiries, we focus on history and its cultural implications in intangible aspects of urban places.

[44] Umemoto suggests that respecting and navigating cultural protocols and social relationships as one of the challenges in participatory planning (Umemoto, 2001). She defines protocols as codes of etiquette that can take on greater relevance in more formal meetings or gatherings, and they cover a ranger of behaviors, such as the way one addresses another, deference to an understood social hierarchy, symbolic offerings, attendance or nonattendance at sacred or social event, norms of exchange and reciprocity and even the manner in which discussions are facilitated. (p. 24) Umemoto, K. (2001) Walking in Another's Shoes: Epistemological Challenges in Participatory Planning. *Journal Of Planning Education And Research* 21, 17-31.

[45] Cochrane, J. and V. Pietropaolo (2000) *Kensington*. Boston Mills Press, Erin, Ont. p. 9

[46] Taylor, D. (2004) Kensington: the Village Within.

[47] The Historic Sites and Monuments of Canada (HSMBC), created in 1919, advises the Minister of the Environment about the national historic significances of places, persons, and events that have marked Canada's history. Almost 80% of the subjects considered by the Board are nominated by the public. When forwarding a positive recommendation to the Minister, the Board also provides advice on erecting a commemorative plaque. For more information about HSMBC, http://www.pc.gc.ca/clmhc-hsmbc/clmhc-hsmbc/index_E.asp

[48] The letter from Dr. Carlos Teiseira to Dr. Michel Audy, Executive Secretary, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, March 24, 2003. Courtesy of HSMBC.

[49] *Source*: *Toronto Star*, May 25, 2008.

[50] No census data are available for the time period prior to 1800.

[51] Bellevue Avenue was names after the first house in the area, Belle Vue, the home of GT Denison (1783-1853), son of Capitan John Dension (1757-1824). George was born in England and came to Upper Canada at the age of eight. In December 1806 he married Esther Borden Lippincott, who owned 3,000 acres in Richmond Hill. He built Belle View at the northeast corner of Bellevue Ave. at Denison Square. This Georgian home was surrounded by his farmlands, orchards, woods and ravine. Denison accumulated much of his wealth through his marriage (four times). At his death in 1853, he was the owner of 556 acres of Toronto, and one of its wealthiest citizens. Belle Vue was demolished in 1890. Wise, L. and A. Gould (2000) *Toronto street names : an illustrated guide to their origins*. Firefly Books, Willowdale, Ont.

[52] There was very little separation of land-uses in the city by 1834.

[53] Starting from John Graves Simcoe, first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, who envisioned that the original "park lots" near Kensington Market –College Street area would be developed as English-style country estates, to Peter Russell, appointed receiver-general of the province in 1792, to John Dension, a friend of Russell's from Yorkshire, to Dr. William Warren Baldwin and his family members, Robert, Phoebe, Sullivan, Willcocks, to Geroge Taylor Denison, they all named the streets in the area for family associations. Baldwin Street, for example, commemorates William Warren Baldwin (1775-1844), who was an influential figure in the early history of the town of York. Denison, Bellevue, Lippincott, Borden and Major, to name but a few, and those names are still in use today. Refer to Wise, L. and A. Gould (2000) *Toronto street names : an illustrated guide to their origins*. Firefly Books, Willowdale, Ont.

[54] The area has always been an immigrant reception meeting spot. "In 1890s and early 1900s, the city's Italian population began moving out of the Ward (bounded by Queen, Young, College and University, to the neighborhood around College and Grace street). By 1916, Toronto's second Little Italy boasted its own Catholic church, St. Agnes, on Grace street, a Methodist meeting place, a steamship agency, a real estate office, as well as sever small grocery stores."Barbara Myrvold, T.P.L.B. (1993) Historical Walking Tour of Kensington Market and College Street. P. 6.

[55] Robert Harney suggests that the internal causes of immigrant patterns, such as street railway patterns and the changing commercial development. For example, the destruction of the Ward housing in favor of hospital space, the sewer work westward along College street and the completion of the Dundas street work caused Italians to move westward to the College – Manning area. Harney, R.F. and H.M. Troper (1975) *Immigrants : a portrait of the urban experience, 1890-1930*. Van Nostrand, Toronto.

[56] Harney suggests two possible reasons for this surge: first, much of the British population began to move to better housing above college street and to new suburbs, such as Mount Pleasant and Leaside, partly because of the expansion of the street car system; second, Toronto's original Jewish neighborhood was

being destroyed from 1916 on to develop Toronto General Hospital and Sick Children Hospital and to expand the commercial development along York street. Harney, S. (1976?) Kensington Market Area, an Environmental Studies Project.

[57] Murray (Edward) McLauchlan, Canadian folksinger, songwriter, guitarist, pianist, broadcaster. His early singing style was characterized by a degree of reverse affectation, a toughness and twang that corresponded with his view of, and from, the underclass. His later songs and singing grew more personal in tone. Despite a series of stylistic variables, his songwriting has remained constant to the folk tradition, with a solid working-class audience. *Down by the Henry Moore*, wrote in 1975, reflects this working class focus. It does not, however, portray the poverty of the community, especially during the first half of the twentieth century, in Kensington Market.

[58] Refer to *Kensington Recommended Official Plan*, The City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978.

[59] In a street market, in a strict sense, most of the vending stands do not share commercial or social relations with the adjoining properties and those who have the stalls in the market bring goods in or our on a daily basis. The Kensington market has the appearance of a street market because the shops lining the street sell goods mainly from stands and other structures that extend out onto the street allowance and sidewalk from the fronts of the buildings, and also because much of the trade is done on the street. *Source*: ?

[60] *Source*: Recognized the Neighborhood's Old World Charm, July 18, 1925 Front Page, *The Toronto Star*

[61] Directory of the City of Toronto, 1961

[62] A conversation with Tom Mihalik, 190 Baldwin Street.

[63] See Teixeira, C. and V.M.P. Da Rosa (2009) *The Portuguese in Canada : diasporic challenges and adjustment*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto. p. 22.

[64] *Source*: Kensington Market Census Tract 38, (College to Dundas, Spadina to Bathurst Streets), Toronto Reference Library.

[65] *Ibid*.

[66] Based on HSMBC Report 2005-30, three locations for the plaque were proposed: Baldwin Street and Spadina Avenue, an entrance point to Kensington Market; Kensington Avenue and Dundas Street West, another entrance point that leads north past the oldest residences within the district; Augusta Avenue and Baldwin Street, in the centre of the district and is where people congregate. The final location of the plaque is none of the above. No definite reason is available.

[67] Historic districts are geographically defined areas which create a special sense of time and place through buildings, structures and open spaces modified by human use and which are united by past events and use and/or aesthetically, by architecture and plan. Canada, H.S.a.M.B.o. (Spring 2008) Criteria, General Guidelines & Specific Guidelines for Evaluating Subjects Of Potential National Historic Significance.

[68] *Source*: *Ibid*.

[69] HSMBC, "Historic Districts and the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada," 2000, 1.

[70] Segovia's at 216 Augusta, or the Paradise Bay Fish Shack up the street, are typical examples of the warm palette of colours in front of the ubiquitous Toronto red brick. Source: HSMBC Report 2005-30.

[71] See Bauman, J. (2006) A Saga of Renewal in a Maine City: Exploring the Fate of Portland's Bayside District. *Journal of Planning History* 5, 329-54.

[72] See p. 11.

[73] The built environment refers in the broadest sense to any physical alteration of the natural environment, from hearth to cities, through construction by humans. It generally includes built form, spaces, and landmarks or sites. Lawrence, D.L. and S.M. Low (1990) The Built Environment and Spatial Form. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19, 453-505.

[74] For a more comprehensive literature review on social production of the built form, Lawrence and Low's *The Built Environment and Spatial Form* provides a wonderful start.

[75] See M . Giguere, Introduction, FAO IV.

[76] Those problems were detailed in 1968 in a brief by the Kensington Area Residents Association (KARA) to the government.

[77] Those include: the expansion of Toronto Western Hospital; the expansion of the University of Toronto for a married students' residence; the expansion of the Provincial Institutes of Trades (later became George Brown Community College); the Toronto Board of Education, which proposed to build a new school. Cochrane, J. and V. Pietropaolo (2000) *Kensington*. Boston Mills Press, Erin, Ont. p. 89

[78] The modernist views that the validity and truth of rational arguments is independent of who presents them, to whom, or in what context. Toulmin, S.E. (1990) *Cosmopolis : the hidden agenda of modernity*. Free Press, New York. …rigid boundaries between fact and value, rationality and emotion, human and nature, and experts and laypeople. Throgmorton, J.A. (1996) *Planning as persuasive storytelling : the rhetorical construction of Chicago's electric future*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

[79] Paradigm is defined by Thomas Kuhn as a "disciplinary matrix" of theory, shared beliefs and values, and a common repertoire of problem solutions that link a scientific or professional community Kuhn, T.S. (1970) *The structure of scientific revolutions*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. p. 181-187.

[80] Despite all the criticisms, Andreas Faludi's substantive-procedural distinction remains popular. This is in part, argued by Leoine Sandercock, due to the symbiotic relationship between rational and systems in planning theory and its dominance of academic literature and planning practice (Sandercock, 1998). Oren Yiftachel develope Faludi's approach into his typology of planning (1989), explaining planning theory around three questions -- the analytical debate (what is urban planning?); the urban form debate (what is good urban plan?); and the procedural debate (what is a good planning process?) – firmly within the substantive-procedural framework: "it is still useful to separate between the two types mainly because a. procedural theories are mostly prescriptive whereas analytical theories are explanatory, and b. the two types do not, in the main, relate to the same phenomenon (Yiftachel, 1989, p. 29)".

[81] Ernest R. Alexander identifies responses to what he termed "paradigm breakdown" (Alexander 1984), and his contingency approach, within a meta-theoretical framework, points to a normative decision-making model which remains essentially rational leaving the obstacles that confront a "general planning theory" (Mandelbaum, 1979) unaddressed. Then he reexamines types of rationality in a post-modernist perspective (Alexander, 2000), but relaxed his contingent framework by integrating four types of complementary planning paradigm: deliberative rational planning, communicative practice, coordinative planning, and frame-setting (Alexander 2000, p. 252).

[82] *Source*: *The Toronto Star*, July, 1969

[83] A recent article, Preserving Our Heritage, *The Toronto Start*, Dec. 16, 2006, illustrates this point.

[84] The plan developed by the working committee and eventually adopted by city council and the various level of government was ordinary in every sense of the world: it strengthened and extended the existing street system, and it encouraged new housing on empty lots or to replace structure in very poor condition, housing that had front and back years, and builds that faced directly onto public street. The new found its place among the old rather than trying to obliterate or displace it Sewell, J. (1993) *The shape of the city : Toronto struggles with modern planning*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto. p. 161-162.

[85] See Neumann, B., R. Mezoff and A.H. Richmond (1973) *Immigrant integration and urban renewal in Toronto*. Nijhoff, The Hague.

[86] Those objectives supplemented those in the 12 point programme.

- The Kensington Market be preserved and improved.
- If a business has to be relocated, efforts should be made to relocate it in the Market unless the business is detrimental to the community as a whole. Expropriation must not put a businessman into a worse financial position than he was in before.
- That back lanes be provided wherever possible.
- Enough parking for the Market be provided.
- The Market be made more attractive for pedestrians.
- A nightly garbage pick up by the City be arranged.
- Better street lighting be provided.
- Better overnight police surveillance be arranged.
- The Market be improved to make it a better fire insurance risk.
- The plan for the Market be worked out in conjunction with the adjoining homeowners.

[87] The proposals included recommendations of Planning Subcommittee (June 1969), and the planning objectives of KARA and KMBA. KURC planning recommendations covered Market, Residential Area, Industrial Uses, Recreational Uses, Educational Facilities, and Government (KURA, 1969).
Market:

- Construction of a multi-storey distribution centers
- Creation of a pedestrian mall
- Restriction of the Market within a specified area

Residential Area:

- Development of a limited divided, multi-use complex
- Eradication of termites
- Provision of low interest loans for the development of housing suitable for the area does not comply with all the regulations of NHA
- Relocation of residents from a pocket of poor housing in the south east corner of the area

Industrial Uses:

- Relocation of several noxious industries outside the area or within the proposed distribution centre

Recreational Uses:

- Expansion of the park through the closure of several adjoining streets (?)

Education Facilities:

- Construction of a physically decentralized community school
- Development of programmes at the George Brown College in the needle trades

Government:

- Utilization of existing government programme to provide child day care, adult education classes, etc.
- Provision of a community office where elected representatives could keep in touch with the community.

[88] The Kensington Area Residents Association was formed in 1967, providing coordination for residents trying to save the community and individual homes. Although opposed to sweeping demolition of existing

housing, the residents did see the need for renewal efforts in the community. They prefer a community oriented approach so the renewal would maintain the historical streetscape and identity of the neighborhood. With its help, an Urban Renewal Committee, composed of residents, businessmen, and the Ward Alderman, was formed to advise city council on matters affecting the Kensington area. Wallace, M. (1999) Planning Amidst Adversity: The Challenges of Multiculturalism in Urban and Suburban Greater Toronto. *A thesis presented to the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada*.

[89] *Source*: Fonds 1307, File 23, *Kensington, Miracle at*, 1968.

[90] Primarily, the Association has succeeded in carefully co-coordinating the various ethnic, commercial, residential, and industrial ingredients of the community into a cohesive and like-minded whole.

1 Opposition by KARA to the OSHC plan for married students' housing in the K area. (Cinclair Construction for the OSHC, a subsidiary of OHC);
2 The necessity of a full-time bilingual (P-E) community worker to educate the P residents as to the nature of, and their responsibilities and rights within the context of UR;
3 Relieve the traffic and parking problems : the province should proper parking facilities for its 1,700 students so that the existing car-parking, for which the merchants and the residents are helping to pay directly through their taxes, should be of benefit to the merchants, their customers, and the residents as well.
4 The Association is convinced that the Kengington Market is a vital part of the economic life of the entire city, and the Market's influence reached out beyond the confines of Toronto. It is already a noted tourist attraction. When UR is properly completed, KARA feels that K market will be more than ever a mecca for all who value the rare, the unique, and the exotic in this too-often unexciting life.
Source: Fonds 1307, File 23, *Kensington, Miracle at*, 1968, p. 7

[91] *Source*: KURA Minutes, June 25th,1968.

[92] Bold was added by the author.

[93] *Source*: City Planning Board, Feb. 4th , 1969. For a concise history of the Spadina Expressway project, see June 4, 1971, the *Globe and Mail*.

[94] "Public participation" and "Citizen participation" are interchangeable in this study.

[95] See KARA Brief, Horace Brown Fonds, City of Toronto Archives

[96] An urban democracy means there lies a possibility, first and foremost, to incorporate public voices, and secondly, there is, fortunately, no one big decision-maker. I emphasize this context here, because when discussing the applicability of this case study, I will differentiate how a culturally sensitive narrative approach can be adopted to a various degree in different cultural and social contexts.

[97] *Source*: KARA Minutes, May 22, 1968.

[98] *Source*: KURC Report, August, 1969.

[99] Douglan W. Rigby, in 1975, did a wonderful study on the KARA's role in the urban renewal program in Kensington Market. The study tried to explain the source of the underlying conflict between citizen groups, planners and politicians, and suggested that two perceptions of the goal of citizen participation, i.e. decentralize decision-making from a larger to a smaller jurisdiction, and redistribute power to economically

or politically disadvantaged groups of the community. Though with somewhat different focus and research philosophy of my own study, I owned a lot of initial ideas of synthesizing participation processes in Kensington Market to this study. *See* Rigby, D.W. (1975) Citizen participation in urban renewal planning : a case study of an inner city residents' association.

[100] Quoted from KARA executive members in *Background Notes for List of Revised Objectives for the Kensington Urban Renewal Scheme.*

[101] *Ibid.*

[102] *Source:* KARA minutes, April 17, 1968

[103] *Source*: March 29, 1967 Planning Board minutes

[104] An essential difference of KURA and KARA lies in their respective relationship to the city. As a City Council appointed advisory committee, KURA reported directly to the Board of Control instead of through the Planning Board. This may partly explain the power struggle between KURA and the Planning Board.

[105] See The Board of Control minutes, June 25th, 1968.

[106] See KARA Minutes *Re. Citizen Participation* , June 25th, 1968.

[107] *Source*: City of Toronto Planning Board, 1973.

[108] *Can Historic Plaque Save Heave for World's Oppressed*? Michael Louis Johnson, *Toronto Star*.

[109] Nassbaum writes, "Intellect will often want to consult these feelings to get information about the true nature of the situation. Without them, its approach to a new situation would be blind and obtuse. … Perception is not merely aided by emotion but is also in part constituted by appropriate response. … Neither is it just that the emotions supply extra praiseworthy elements themselves modes of vision, or recognition. Their responses are part of what knowing, that is truly recognizing or acknowledging, consists in." Nussbaum, M.C. (1990) *Love's knowledge : essays on philosophy and literature*. Oxford University Press, New York. p. 79.

[110] i.e. figures of speech and arguments.

[111] Sandercock breaks this statement into the following six components: First, there is a temporal or sequential framework, which often involves a ticking clock to provide dramatic tension. Second, there is an element of explanation or coherence, rather than a catalogue of one thing after another. Third, there is some potential for generalizability, for seeing the universal in the particular, the world in a grain of sand.1 Fourth, there is the presence of recognized, generic conventions that relate to an expected framework, a plot structure and protagonists. Fifth, moral tension. Sandercock, L. (2003) Out of the Closet: The Importance of Stories and Storytelling in Planning Practice. *Planning Theory & Practice* 4, 11.

[112] David Glassberg writes, "for many of us, then, a sense of history means a sense of home, something we may flee from in early life as we establish our individual identities, but return to later in life as we age." Glassberg, D. (2001) *Sense of history : the place of the past in American life*. University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst. p. 208.

[113] Integrity in the context of a historic district is the degree to which a site is able to convey its national significance according to the attributes identified, i.e. location, setting, design, materials, use, and association. There are four aspects to consider in the case of Kensington Market: the conveyance of the place's historic values in its physical features; the existence of a sense of place (that tangible and intangible

quality that gives a place special meaning); the ongoing function of the site; and, the continuation of a dynamic evolutionary quality to the site. Waldron, A.M. (2005) Kensington Market, Toronto, Ontario. *Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC), Submission Report 2005-30*.

[114] Pierre Nora says, "Though not really a neologism, the term did not exist in French when I first used it… I took it from ancient and medieval rhetoric as described by Frances Yates in her admirable book, The *Art of Memory* (1966), which recounts an important tradition of mnemonic techniques. The classic art of memory was based on a systematic inventory of *loci memoriae*, or 'memory places'."

[115] Memoryscape refers to trails, or built landscapes in general, that use recorded sound and spoken memory, to bring alive the deeply personal and often hidden histories of the place. Audio walks, for example, integrating art, oral history, and cultural geography, are tools that can create such memoryscape and deepen our sense of place. I borrow this term from Toby Butler, who produced innovative walking tours along the Thames, titled Mrmoyscape Audio Walks. See www. memoryscape.org.uk. This project integrates the walking tour along Thames with the aural reminiscences of inhabitants of, workers in, and visitors to the same sites. Butler challenges historic, planning, government or place-name perceptions of urban geography, and favors a more fracture perception of urban space embodies insiders' voices. According to Butler, this technique uses paths, routes, networks and trajectories through a city, talking to a series of people who might not ordinarily meet, or consider themselves a part of a group or a community. Butler, T. (2007) Memoryscape: How Audio Walks Can Deepen Our Sense of Place by Integrating Art, Oral History and Cultural Geography. *Geography Compass* 1, 360-72. My study of Kensington Market is at a smaller scale, but I value the connecting power of oral history, to picture the emotional landscape of people who lived and are still living in Kensington Market.

[116] The Market here is used in a narrow sense: it refers to the market area bounded by Kensington Avenue, Baldwin Street, and Augusta Avenue (see the shaded area in *A Walking Tour of Kensington*, p.?)

[117] Liebman, G. (1980) Three Toronto Synagogues Which Became One. *Unpublished article, Ontario Jewish Archives*. p. 10

[118] Heschel, A.J. (1951b) *The Sabbath : its meaning for modern man*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York. P. 96-7

[119] A guideline for assessing the needs of the individual was prepared by the Conservative Organization of Synagogues which included such items as the need for: a house of worship, study and assembly; a Hebrew school for children; a wholesome environment for teen-agers; adult social contact –men's clubs, sisterhoods, young adult groups; and a place to foster a sense of belonging. Liebman, G. (1980) Three Toronto Synagogues Which Became One. *Unpublished article, Ontario Jewish Archives*. P. 13.

[120] David Pinkus, "History of the Kiever". http://kievershul.tripod.com/history.html

[121] David Pinkus, "History of the Kiever". http://kievershul.tripod.com/history.html. It seems a pleasant coincidence that the name "Toronto" derives from the Indian (Huron) word meaning "meeting place" and the word "synagogue" comes from the Greek *synagein* which also means to bring together, similarly as a meeting place. More generally, the purpose of the synagogue is three-fold: to house Jewish congregational worship, study, and community meeting.

[122] E.V. Walter contrasts place and space, "Modern space is universal and abstract, where a place is concrete and particular. People do not experience abstract space; they experience places. A place is seen, heard, smelled, imagined, loved, hated, feared, revered, enjoyed, or avoided. Abstract space is infinite; in modern thinking it means a framework of possibilities. A place is immediate, concrete, particular, bounded, finite, unique." Walter, E.V. (1988) *Placeways : a theory of the human environment*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

[123] Built by the oldest Jewish congregation in Toronto, Holy Blossom features twin towers and a dome with an elaborated facade.

[124] Ezekiel 11:16, *The Holy Bible*, New International Version (NIV). This is a key verse in Ezekiel, as the symbol of God's presence among his people.

[125] The massing typology represents a boxlike mass that is often exhibited in buildings of the mid 20th century. Sometimes it refers to the massing of an older 19th century building where the roof is particularly low in slope and simple in profile with no towers and a compact hall, rectangular or square floor plan, the simplest of its kind. *Source*: Ontario Heritage Trust.

[126] The relevant biblical implication comes from Nehemiah 8:4: "Ezar the scribe stood on a high wooden platform built for the occasion(reading the Law from the pulpit)" The Holy Bible, NIV.

[127] Psalm 130:1: "Out of the depth I cry to you, O, Lord." (NIV)

[128] Yi Fu Tuan analyzes architectural space and awareness, and observes that "the built environment clarifies social roles and relations." Tuan, Y.-f. (1977) *Space and place : the perspective of experience*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

[129] *Source*: Minutes of the Archives Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress, Central Region held on February 27, 1974.

[130] The Committee had acquired a Ministry of Citizenship and Culture of Ontario grant for $115,000, but Martin Mendelow, the contracted architect for the project, estimated the restoration costs at $400,000. The remaining $285,000 had to come from donations. In June 1975, the Committee organized a cantorial concert in Denison Square, as well as an exhibit on the history of the Kiever in the social hall in the basement of the shul. Sol Edell and Albert Latner also tried to raise funds by contacting institutions, companies, and individuals for donations into the early 1980s. The Foundation sold honorary memberships and provided limited edition copies of a water color of the Kiever created by Martin Mendelow as an incentive to those who were willing to donate more than $1000. In turn, individuals and companies also contributed through the provision of construction services and supplies. *Source*: Toronto First Synagogues project

[131] *Source*:Toronto's First Synagogues project.

[132] In Hebrew, Makom (accent on the "o") means place or space. It is also an ancient rabbinic name for God, signifying God's omnipresence, the felt sense of God's immanence in the world and our lives. Under the leadership of Rabbi Aaron Levey, Makom injects some fresh blood in the historic Kiev. The following is drawn from Makom Mission Statement, "We are a Jewish community rooted in downtown Toronto, both in the present and historically. Downtown is not just our geography, but our ethos. The spaces we inhabit as a community (The Kiever Synagogue, Kensington Market, Bellevue Park, Queens Park, and more) inform our identity, just as we influence our spaces through our activities in them."

[133] *Source*: my interview with Rabbi Aaron Levy on Oct 26 & 29, 2009.

[134] See Goldstein, B. and J. Shulman (1998) *Voices from the heart : a community celebrates 50 years of Israel*. M&S, Toronto. p. 90-91.

[135] *Source*: my interview with Gurion Hyman, October 13, 2009.

[136] According to Gurion Hyman, his father had a gift for languages, "always comfortable with different languages, speaking Yiddish, Hebrew a Russian, and by study French and German, he was able to make contact with a Parisian company that was selling patterns for making dresses."

[137] This cute story comes from my interview with Ruth Hyman on October 13, 2009

[138] Conversation with Gurion Hyman on October 13, 2009.

[139] *Source*: my interview with Gurion and Ruth Hyman, October 13, 2009

[140] Ruthie Ladovsky has been a true help in my understanding of the Jewish diary practices.

[141] *Source*: my interview with Ruthie Ladovsky on December 8, 2009

[142] Refer to Basso, K.H. (1996) *Wisdom sits in places : landscape and language among the Western Apache*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

[143] The Kiev was designated partly for the wrong reason, I believe.

[144] This is the case for almost all the sites, even in Hyman's bookstore: Fanny Hyman, Ben Zion's hard-working wife, was an incredible business lady who helped Ben Zion run the bookstore till she passed away in 1970 (?) I did not start with those themes because existing written documents tell very little the psychic world of those places. Similarities emerged from the field observations and interviews – this is what I think CSNA differs from other policy level narratives: planners have already had a preconceived idea, and they sometimes just come to the table to hear what they are expecting. The narratives are edited to serve the goal they want to achieve.

[145] Refer to p. 288 in Stegner, W.E. (1980) *Wolf willow : a history, a story, and a memory of the last plains frontier*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

[146] "The past is a foreign country" was first used in L. P. Hartley's *The Go-Between:* "The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there" (p.1) More relevant to the subject of this research, however, is David Lowenthal's well-known volume, *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Hartley, L.P. (1953) *The go-between*. Hamish Hamilton, London. Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The past is a foreign country*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Cambridgeshire ; New York.

[147] This is a loving tribute to the great Canadian composer Srul Irving Glick. This is a musical tour of Toronto's old Jewish community. The guide is the violinist Angele Debeau and La Pieta. Debeau has performed the suite many times. Glick is performed by Angele Debeau and La Pieta from the CD Violins du Monde, on the Analekta label. Other music featured was Agadah from Glick's Suite Hebraque # 4 for Allo Saxophone and Piano performed by Paul Brodie and Valerie Tryon. *Source*: The Old Toronto Klezmer Suite CBC Radio, Fresh Air, with Angele Debeau and Steven Speisman, December 16, 2002.

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